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The United States-Mexican Border:
A Selective Guide to the Literature of the Region

by

Charles C. Cumberland

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A Selective Guide to
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BY

CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND

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EDITORS' NOTE: The editors of Rural Sociology are happy to present an extensive bibliographic essay and guide to the literature relevant to the U. S.-Mexican border. We feel that many rural sociologists and other social scientists interested in Anglo-Latino relations will find this supplement useful. Professor Cumberland has had a long-time interest in Mexico and the Southwest and is author of *Mexican Revolution: Genesis Under Madero*. During the two and one-half years in which a major portion of the bibliographic-work was done, Professor Cumberland was part-time researcher in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University. Presently, he is associate professor of History at Michigan State.

The publication of this supplement, in its entirety, was made possible by grants to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, under the direction of Charles P. Loomis. The grants were from the Carnegie Corporation for a study of border relations of the U. S., and from the Research Grants Branch of the Division of Hospital and Medical Facilities of the U. S. Public Health Service for a study of Anglo-Latino relations in hospitals and communities.

JOURNALS CONSULTED AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

— A —

AA	American Anthropologist
Acta Americana	Acta Americana
AgAm	Agriculture in the Americas
AgHist	Agricultural History
AgriMex	El Agricultor Mexicano
AHR	American Historical Review
AJPH	American Journal of Public Health
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AJSci	American Journal of Science
AmFed	American Federationist
América	América (Habana, Cuba)
AmerArch	American Archivist
América Indígena	América Indígena
AmPsy	American Psychologist
Annals	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science
AnnGeog	Annales de Géographie
APSR	American Political Science Review
Arizona and the West	Arizona and the West
ASPA	American Journal of Physical Anthropology
ASR	American Sociological Review

— B —

BolInsFiscal	Boletín de Inspección Fiscal
BolMDER	Boletín Mensual de la Dirección de Economía Rural
BolMinPet	Boletín de Minas y Petróleos
BolSocChi	Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Es- tudios Históricos
BolSocMexGeoEstad	Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística
BOSP	Boletín de la Oficina Sanitaria Panamericana
BullAAPG	Bulletin of the American Association of Petro- leum Geographers
BullAGS	Bulletin of the American Geographic Society
BullGSA	Bulletin of the Geological Society of America

— C —

CalJSE	California Journal of Secondary Education
CalPubGeog	University of California Publications in Geog- raphy
Ciencia	Ciencia
Ciencias Sociales	Ciencias Sociales
Common Ground	Common Ground

— E —

Ecology	Ecology
EconGeog	Economic Geography
EconGeol	Economic Geology
Economista	Economista

Educación Rural
ElemSJ
E&MJ
Estudio Americano
Exámen

Educación Rural
The Elementary School Journal
Engineering and Mining Journal
Estudio Americano
Exámen

— F —

ForAff
ForAgri
ForComW
Futuro

Foreign Affairs
Foreign Agriculture
Foreign Commerce Weekly
Futuro

— G —

GeogRev

The Geographical Review

— H —

HAHR
HB
Hispania
Historia Mexicana
Historian
Hoy

Hispanic American Historical Review
Human Biology
Hispania
Historia Mexicana
The Historian
Hoy

— I —

ILR
IngHid
INSM
InterAm
InvEcon
IrrMex

International Labor Review
Ingeniería Hidráulica
Immigration and Naturalization Service Monthly
Inter-American
Investigaciones Económicas
Irrigación en México

— J —

JAF
JAPsy
JEH
JSPsy
JAS-SSR

Journal of American Folklore
Journal of Applied Psychology
Journal of Economic History
Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
Journal of Applied Sociology (Sociology and Social Research)

JER
JFE
JM
JNEA
JournGeog
JSPsy

Journal of Educational Research
Journal of Farm Economics
Journal of Marketing
Journal of National Education Association
Journal of Geography
Journal of Social Psychology

— K —

Kiva

Kiva

— L —

LPR

Land Policy Review

— M —

MAR
Masterkey
MexAg
MLR

Mexican-American Review
The Masterkey
México Agrario
Monthly Labor Review

NAR
NatGeog
Nation
NMHR
NMQR

Old Santa Fe

PHR
El Palacio
ProbAgri

RevCub
RevEcon
RevEstad
RevGeogInstPAGH

RevMexSoc
RevMinPet
RevTPS
RHA
RIT
Rural Sociology

SAQ
SciM
SEJ
SFQ
Social Forces
Sociometry
SoWork
S&S
SSR
SWHQ
SWJA
SWSSQ
Survey
Survey Graphic

TJS
TriEcon

— N —
North American Review
National Geographic
The Nation
New Mexico Historical Review
New Mexico Quarterly Review

— O —
Old Santa Fe

— P —
Pacific Historical Review
El Palacio
Problemas Agrícolas é Industriales de México

— R —
Revista Cubana
Revista Económica
Revista Estadística
Revista Geográfica del Instituto Pan-americano
de Geografía e Historia
Revista Mexicana de Sociología
Revista Minera y Petrolera
Revista de Trabajo y Prevision Social
Revista de Historia de America
Revista Internacional de Trabajo
Rural Sociology

— S —
South Atlantic Quarterly
Scientific Monthly
Southern Economic Journal
Southern Folklore Quarterly
Social Forces
Sociometry
Southern Workman
School and Society
Sociology and Social Research
Southwestern Historical Quarterly
Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
Southwestern Social Science Quarterly
Survey
Survey Graphic

— T —
Texas Journal of Science
Trimestre Económico

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Journals Consulted and Abbreviations Used

General Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Bibliographies and Guides	5
Books and Monographs	5
Bibliographical Aids in Journals and Periodicals	9
Chapter 2: Diplomatic Relations	12
Formal Diplomatic Relations	12
Books and Monographs	12
General Coverage	12
Texas Revolution and the Mexican War	14
Filibustering and Indian Raids	16
Boundary Delimitation	18
The Mexican Revolution of 1910	20
World War II and the Bracero Movement	25
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	27
Articles in Journals	28
Boundary Delimitation	28
United States Acquisitions	29
Border Raids	30
Waters of the Rio Grande	30
Fiscal and Commercial Questions	31
The Mexican Revolution of 1910	32
Informal, or Non-Diplomatic Relations	33
Books and Monographs	33
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	35
Articles in Journals	35
General Summary of Literature on Diplomacy	36
Chapter 3: Description, Travel and Geography	38
United States Territory	38
Books and Monographs	38
Articles in Journals	48
The Mexican Side of the Border	49
Books and Monographs	49
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	58
Articles in Journals	58

Chapter 4: The Spanish Speaking Population of the United States	63
Books and Monographs	63
Distribution	64
Diet and Health	67
Culture Patterns	68
Discrimination	71
Government Publications	74
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	76
Articles in Journals	78
Distribution	78
Culture Patterns and Naturalization	81
Discrimination	87
Chapter 5: Immigration to the United States from Mexico	90
Books and Monographs	91
Immigrants	91
The Bracero Movement	94
Illegal Migration	95
Government Publications	97
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	99
Articles in Journals	99
General	99
Braceros	101
Chapter 6: History	103
Books and Monographs	103
The United States—General	103
Mexico—General	107
The United States—Texas	108
New Mexico	113
Arizona	116
California	117
Mexican States—	
Tamaulipas	118
Nuevo Leon	119
Coahuila	121
Chihuahua	122
Sonora	124
Baja California	126
Military Accounts—	
General	127
The Mexican Revolution	128
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	130
Articles in Journals	131
United States	131
Mexico	139

CONTENTS

ix

Chapter 7: Education	142
Books and Monographs	142
General	142
Education of Spanish Speaking in the United States	145
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	149
Articles in Journals	151
 Chapter 8: Land Use	 156
Books and Monographs	156
United States	156
Mexico	163
Mexican Government Documents	169
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	170
Articles in Journals	170
United States	170
Mexico	173
 Chapter 9: Economic Activity	 179
Books and Monographs	180
United States	180
Mexico	185
Articles in Journals	187
United States	187
Mexico	189
 Chapter 10: Aspects of Culture: General Values, Religion, Folk, Medical	 193
Books and Monographs	194
General	194
Religion	195
Folklore	197
Health and Sanitation	199
Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts	203
Articles in Journals	203
United States	203
Mexico	207
Folklore	209
Health and Sanitation	209
 Chapter 11: Government and Politics	 212
Books and Monographs	213
Articles in Journals	216

Chapter 12: The Indians of the Border Area	218
Books and Monographs	218
Articles in Journals	222
Index	224

THE UNITED STATES-MEXICAN BORDER: A SELECTIVE GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE ON THE REGION

By CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The United States-Mexican Border is more than a geographical line between two nations; it is the point where two diverse cultures meet and intermingle. Historians, public servants, legislators and others who are intimately concerned with the situation have long recognized the region as a somewhat unique area; the concept of uniqueness has been expressed in various ways, depending upon the orientation of the individual concerned. The institutional historian sees the region as one in which Spanish institutions have been tempered and changed as a result of Anglo-American influence, and Anglo-American institutions changed as the result of Spanish or Mexican influence. The anthropologist sees the area as a laboratory in which culture change may be studied in specific detail; to date most anthropologists have been primarily concerned with a changing Indian society rather than a changing society in general. The geographer and the geologist view the region as one of special physical characteristics. The educator is concerned with the education of non-English speaking children, the sociologist with distinctive social systems, the social worker with the results of prejudice and discrimination, and the public official with a vast complex of legislation and law enforcement in a region which includes a tremendous minority group tending to concentrate in relative, restricted areas.

The concept of uniqueness is particularly marked on the United States side of the international boundary; in general the Mexicans have not been overly concerned with their portion of the area as a unique section differing materially from other parts of the nation. And yet it is clear that the Mexican border states are quite differ-

* The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance given him by the staffs of the Library of Congress, the Bancroft Library of the University of California, the Universidad de Sonora library, and the Michigan State University library. The major portion of the research was done under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University; some of the expenses incident to preparing the manuscript were met through a grant from the Michigan State University All-University Research Fund.

ent from the other regions in Mexico, and the *norteño* is looked upon as a distinctive individual.

But with all this acceptance of the region as unique, no successful attempt has yet been made to define the border itself; the "border," in fact, appears to shift as one considers particular aspects of life. For purposes of international jurisdiction, the border is, of course, the international boundary, but the border extends far to the interior of both Mexico and the United States when one considers the enforcement of international understanding. Demographically speaking, the border extends even farther to the interior, and one might even argue that the border extends to include Colorado and Michigan in view of the *bracero* movements. The trade-area border does not coincide with the culture-area border, which in turn does not coincide with the economic-area border.

Furthermore, in spite of the voluminous material dealing with our Southwest, and the less massive but still considerable publications dealing with the north Mexican states, the total picture of the region is obscure. Certain aspects of life have been made startlingly clear, while others have remained in almost total darkness. Some historical developments have been subjected to penetrating analysis, while others have been completely ignored. To the scholar or the professional interested in the uniqueness of the border region, the works of fundamental importance are stimulating and enticing but the *lacunae* are frustrating. The purpose of this guide is to indicate both the areas which have been covered in the literature and the subjects which have been inadequately studied.

It would be, of course, impossible to list and describe all the literature and sources dealing with the border region, and all the literature which must be consulted to put the border developments into proper historical, political, cultural and economic perspective. In the following essays and citations, the primary purpose has been to supply a handy guide for the scholar interested in the area, so that regardless of his scholarly interest he may find indications of what has been accomplished in the field of scholarship, what needs to be done, and where he might find information peripheral to his particular study but essential to it. The basic criterion with respect to the selection of entries has been uniqueness of the region as a natural or cultural area. Occasionally citations dealing with more general topics, not specifically pointed at a unique border situation, have been included for the purpose of

comparison; but these items are included only as illustrative indications and are not intended to be exhaustive. In addition, occasional works dealing with a larger area, but which include particularly pertinent material concerning the region under consideration, are also included. No attempt, however, has been made to include all publications which impinge on the region, since this would include virtually all of our literature on the West, much of the literature dealing with the United States generally, and much of the literature dealing with Mexico generally. An underlying assumption is that any scholar will be familiar with the literature of his field dealing with general topics, but may not be familiar with literature pointed at a particular problem of the region.

On the other hand, occasional classic works which are well-known by the scholars in a particular discipline are included on the assumption that researchers with other disciplinary orientations may be ignorant of them but could profit from consulting them. An example is Walter P. Webb's magnificent *The Great Plains* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936. 525 pp.) with which every competent historian of American development is familiar. The work does not deal with the border and makes no mention of many aspects of border life which are important culturally and economically. On the other hand, many of Webb's concepts and examples are as applicable to the dry lands area of northern Mexico as they are to the northern Great Plains states, and any scholar, regardless of his discipline or the orientation of his study, could profit from reading some sections of the book. A further example is Nathan C. Whetten's *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. 671 pp.) with which every Mexicanist, regardless of his discipline, is familiar, but which may be unknown to those whose work has all been north of the border. Again, Whetten's work does not specifically apply to the border region, but much of it deals with conditions with which anyone working on the border should be familiar.

The primary purpose of the guide is to aid researchers dealing with contemporary situations. Within this concept one might legitimately include all historical works dealing with the area, since history is a continuous and conditions of the sixteenth century have had their influence on the institutions of today. But it would be manifestly impossible to include all historical writing on the area, and as a consequence an arbitrary line of distinction has been set; with few exceptions, and then only if the work is particularly applicable, the guide includes material dealing only

with the period after Mexican independence. Accordingly, most of the voluminous literature dealing with the mission movement, with colonial New Mexico and colonial Texas, with the great expeditions of discovery and conquest, with California life under the Spaniards, has been omitted.

One final criterion of selection must be considered. This guide is not intended to be a handbook for light reading or for literary productions as such, and accordingly few such items are here included. Two fine guides for this type of literature (and for more serious materials as well) are J. Frank Dobie's *Guide to the Life and Literature of the Southwest* (Revised, Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1952. 222 pp.), and Walter S. Campbell's *The Book Lover's Southwest: A Guide to Good Reading* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. 287 pp.). Within this general category of omitted items are biographical works dealing with outstanding personalities, unless the biographer has made a conscious effort to portray his subject as a phenomenon of a set of conditions peculiar to the border—not merely of the Southwest. Jim Bridger, Kit Carson, Sam Bass, Big-foot Wallace, Sam Houston, Stephen F. Austin and a host of others led interesting lives which materially influenced the region in which they lived; but their characteristics were those of frontiersmen rather than of personalities developed within a region bordering on two cultures.

One final word by way of general introduction to the subject. The fact that the Spanish borderlands region was a unique area, not merely another United States frontier, dawned slowly on those who moved into the region from the more settled sections of the United States. Professor Burl Noggle, of New Mexico State University, has examined this question with perception and imagination in "Anglo Observers of the Southwest Borderlands, 1825-1890: The Rise of a Concept," *Arizona and the West*, 1 (1959): 105-131. Any attempt to understand the borderlands concept should start with this article.*

* The research for the material hereinafter presented was completed in late 1958; the author has made no systematic search for materials published since that date, even though some items with a later publication date are included.

CHAPTER I

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND GUIDES

Books and Monographs

For those who wish to follow more fully some of the lines indicated in this guide, there are numerous bibliographies and guides which are extremely useful. Vito Alessio Robles' *Bibliografía de Coahuila: historia y geográfica* (Mexico: Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1927. 450 pp.) is a fine contribution by a Mexican scholar whose basic interest is in the development of the Mexican State of Coahuila and the U. S. state of Texas. Most of the items deal with a period earlier than the scope of the present guide. Campbell and Dobie have already been mentioned; there is little difference in either the format or the general coverage in these two bibliographies, and many of the same items appear in both books. For complete coverage, however, both should be consulted; of the two, Dobie is somewhat more perceptive and his running commentary is considerably more spicy. *The Literature of the Rocky Mountain West, 1803-1903* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1939. 449 pp.) by Levette Jay Davidson and Prudence Bostwick is both anthology and bibliography. Carlos E. Castañeda and Jack Aubrey Dabbs' *Guide to the Latin American Manuscripts in The University of Texas Library* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. 217 pp.) is a useful tool for the researcher, as is Herbert E. Bolton's classic *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1913. 553 pp.) which is now somewhat out of date since some of the classifications in the Mexican archives have been changed in recent years. Other such guides are John P. Harrison's little booklet on *Material in the National Archives Relating to the Mexican States of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Baja California* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952. 16 pp. U. S. National Archives, Publication no. 53-6, Reference Information Papers, no. 42), Adelaide Hasse's *Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs* (3 volumes. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1914-1921), Anita Ker's *Mexican Government Publications: A Guide to the More Important Publications of the National Government of Mexico, 1821-1936* (Washington:

Government Printing Office, 1940. 333 pp.), and Lota M. Spell's *Research Material for the Study of Latin America at The University of Texas* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1954. 107 pp.). This last work includes a list of the Alejandro Prieto collection concerning Tamaulipas and the Sánchez Navarro collection relative to Coahuila.

Among the bibliographies dealing with specific geographic regions, perhaps the most thorough is C. W. Raines, *A Bibliography of Texas* (Austin, Texas: Pub. for the Author by the Gammel Book Co., 1896. 268 pp.), published over a half-century ago; the book gives excellent coverage of all aspects of published material to that time, and for publications prior to 1896 it is still extremely useful. Joaquín Díaz Mercado, *Bibliografía de la Baja California* (Mexico: Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad, 1937. 179 pp.) is still useful even though the region has changed enormously since the date of publication. Héctor González, *Bibliografía del Estado de Nuevo León de 1820 a 1946. Reseña libros por Héctor González, reseña de periódicos por Plinio D. Ordóñez* (Monterrey: 1946. 63 pp.) is of limited value since it concerns itself with publications in, rather than concerning, Nuevo León. Lyle Saunders' *A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1944. 528 pp.) is something more than the title suggests and is probably the most useful single volume here discussed inasmuch as his concept of ideas, culture patterns, and the like transcend state boundaries. The two works of Henry Wagner, *Bibliography of Printed Works in Spanish relating to Those Portions of the United States which Formerly belonged to Mexico* (Santiago de Chile: La Imprenta Diener, 1917. 43 pp.) and *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794: An Annotated Bibliography* (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1937. 2 vols.) are more useful for the period prior to the scope of the present guide than they are for the more recent period. Edgar L. Hewett and Reginald G. Fisher, *Mission Monuments of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942. 269 pp.), concerning primary and secondary sources for religious history of New Mexico, includes short reports from the supervisors in charge of the various restoration projects.

Other bibliographies in book form, of varying utility, are:

Barrett, Ellen C., *Baja California, 1535-1956; A Bibliography of Historical, Geographical and Scientific Literature relating to the Peninsula of Baja California and to the Adjacent Islands in the*

- Gulf of California and the Pacific Ocean* (Los Angeles: Bennett and Marshall, 1957. 284 pp.).
- Edwards, Everett Eugene, *Agriculture of the American Indian: A Classified List of Annotated Historical References with an Introduction*, 2nd Edition (Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture Library, Bibliographical Contributions 23, Edition 2, June, 1932. 89 pp.).
- Elliott, Claude, *Theses on Texas History. A Check List of Theses and Dissertations in Texas History Produced in the Departments of History of Eighteen Texas Graduate Schools and Thirty-Three Graduate Schools outside of Texas, 1907-1952* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1955, 280 pp.). All but ten for the M.A.
- Iguíniz, Juan B., *Bibliografía biográfica mexicana* (Mexico: Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1930).
- Jones, Robert C., *Mexicans in the United States: A Bibliography* (Washington: Pan American Union, Columbus Memorial Library, Bibliographic Series #27, 1942).
- Leon, Nicolas, *Bibliografía bibliográfica mexicana* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficas del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía, 1923. 66 pp.). This list contains some 600 items which contain bibliographic materials.
- Major, Mabel, Rebecca Smith and T. M. Pearce, *Southwest Heritage: A Literary History with Bibliography* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948, revised edition. 199 pp.). This revision of a 1938 publication is organized into three major sections, dealing with the literary history of the period prior to the coming of the Anglo-Americans, the period of American settlers and adventurers from 1800 to 1919, and the contemporary period. A combined history and bibliography, each of the major sections is further divided into poetry, drama, etc. The material is extremely useful.
- Owen, Eugene D., *Index to Publications and Articles on Latin America issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1902-1934* (Washington: G.P.O., 1945. 25 pp., processed). Although most of the items listed here deal with Latin America in general and have little relevance to the border, some of the listings are useful.
- Pan American Union Division of Labor and Social Information, *Bibliography on Labor and Social Welfare in Latin America* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1940. 31 pp., mimeographed). From the standpoint of utility, this item has the same weakness as the immediately prior item.
- Parra, Manuel Germán and Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, *Bibliografía indigenista de México y Centroamérica, 1850-1950* (Mexico: Ediciones del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954. ci, 342). The 101

page introductory essay is largely devoted to the historical development of ideas concerning the Indian question. The bibliography itself consists of a listing of 6445 items, without comment, divided into various subdivisions. Some of the citations are incomplete, depending upon the care with which the various contributors furnished material, and most of them have no relevance to the border. But many items do concern the border and, in spite of the difficulty in using the volume, the listings are extremely valuable.

Rader, Jesse L., *South of Forty, from the Mississippi to the Rio Grande: A Bibliography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. 336 pp.). Rader's work is spotty, careless, and somewhat difficult to use, but nevertheless some worthwhile materials are listed.

Ramos, Roberto, *Bibliografía de la revolución mexicana* (Mexico: Vols. I and II, Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1931, 1935; Vol. III, Imprenta de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1940). Ramos conceives of the Mexican Revolution as that vast social, economic, and political movement which began in 1910 and was still in process when he published his multi-volume work. Accordingly, the three volumes consist of a rather exhaustive list of publications covering a thirty-year period. Cross-indexed and well organized, the volumes are easy to use, but they have a great drawback in that the items are not annotated and the good are admixed indiscriminately with the indifferent and the valueless.

Saunders, Lyle, *Spanish-Speaking Americans and Mexican-Americans in the United States; A Selected Bibliography* (New York: Bureau for Intercultural Relations, 1944. 14 pp.).

Segura, David, *El mercurio en México* (Mexico, 1941. 44 pp. mimeographed). The historical bibliography is more useful than the short description of the mines and their productivity.

State of California Department of State, *Inventory of the State Archives of California: Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Immigration and Housing* (San Francisco: The Northern California Historical Records Survey Project, 1941. 47 pp. mimeographed).

Tucker, Mary, *Books of the Southwest: A General Bibliography* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937. 105 pp.). Tucker is much stronger on the Indian and Spanish periods than on later times, and is particularly weak on the impact of Anglo-American culture.

W. P. A. of Texas, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Historical Records Survey Program, *Texas Newspapers, 1913-1939: A Union List of Newspaper Files Available in Offices of Publishers, Libraries, and a Number of Private Collections* (Houston: San Jacinto Museum of History Association, 1941. 293 pp.). A very useful listing, in which the towns are listed by alphabetical order,

then the newspapers in alphabetical order by title under each town. The bibliographical information includes the years in which the files are available, but unfortunately there is no indication concerning editorial policy or orientation.

Bibliographical Aids in Journals and Periodicals

In addition to the bibliographical aids published in book or pamphlet form, a number of highly useful items have appeared in journals and periodicals. Herbert E. Bolton, prior to the publication of his monumental *Guide*, made a portion of his findings available through "Materials for Southwestern History in the Central Archives of Mexico," *AHR* 13 (1908): 510-527, which in some ways is more convenient to use than his larger *Guide* but suffers from the same disadvantage from changing classifications in the Archivo Nacional. Seymour V. Connor, "A Preliminary Guide to the Archives of Texas," *SWHQ* 59, #3 (January, 1956): 255-334, partially meets the drastic need for information concerning the resources available in Texas archives and as such is invaluable to the researcher. George Hammond's "Manuscript Collections in the Bancroft Library," *American Archivist* 13 (1950): 15-26, lists the most useful collections at the University of California for the Mexican period and the early United States period in the Southwest. France V. Scholes, "Manuscripts for the History of New Mexico in the National Library of Mexico City," *NMHR* 3 (1928): 301-323, describes the materials in ten of a hundred bundles of manuscripts formerly in the Franciscan archive of Santo Evangelino; the manuscripts deal with the colonial period. The Library of Congress has an index of the entire collection, and the manuscripts of the ten bundles are available in photostat in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; those documents relating to Texas are also in photostat in the library of The University of Texas.

William S. Wallace, "Bibliography of Published Bibliographies on the History of Eleven Western States, 1941-1947," *NMHR* 29 (1954): 224-233, is useful, as is the series by Wilma Loy Shelton, "Checklist of New Mexico Publications," *NMHR* 25 (1950): 57-72, 136-161, 222-241; *NMHR* 26 (1951): 64-67, 137-147, 225-241, 325-331; *NMHR* 27 (1952): 51-63; *NMHR* 29 (1954): 48-70, 124-153. The Shelton checklist, however, is difficult to use because of its organization and its dispersion over four volumes of a journal. Of the same nature is T. F. Harwood's "Review of the Work of the Texas State Historical Commission," *SWHQ* 31 (1927-28): 1-32,

which not only reviews the work of the Commission but lists the works published under its auspices or through its encouragement. Bailey Carroll's "Texas County Histories," *SWHQ* 45 (1941-42): 74-98, 164-187, 260-275, 343-361, lists articles, books, and theses regarding counties. The list in alphabetical order by counties; there is no indication of the nature or the usefulness of the items listed.

Somewhat more useful are a number of articles dealing with newspapers, particularly those published in the Mexican border states and in the Spanish language north of the international boundary. Manuel Estrada Rousseau, "El cuarto poder in el estado de Sinaloa," *El Nacional* (Mexico), May 27, 1931, gives a brief listing and description of newspapers in his native state between 1900 and 1930, but does not indicate where complete files might be found. A much more important item appeared as a part of a special memorial section in *La Prensa* of San Antonio, Texas. Under the date of February 13, 1938, and under the title of "Mas de cuatrocientos periódicos en español se han editado in Los Estados Unidos," the editors list 212 individual newspapers, with the dates and places of publication along with the name of the managing director in some cases, published throughout the United States. The bulk of the publications were short-lived and were published in the Southwest. Fernando Pesqueira, "La introducción de la primera imprenta de Sonora," *El Imparcial* (Hermosillo, Sonora), February 15, 1942, contains data relative to the first newspapers published and is of special interest to historians. Of the same order, but of greater general utility, is José G. Rocha's "La Imprenta y el periodismo in Parral, 1856-1939," *BolSocChi* 1 (1938-1939): 285-288, 323-327, 356-358, 360, which contains data concerning the 96 newspapers which appeared in Parral between 1856 and 1939. Eduardo Villa's "El periodismo en Sonora," *Divulgación Histórica* 3 (1942): 371-373, is not as useful. Henry R. Wagner in "New Mexico Spanish Press," *NMHR* 12 (1937): 1-40, describes as well as lists and Rafael Heliodoro Valle, "México en la prensa de habla inglesa," *Libro y Pueblo* 13 (1935): 55-68, 134-139 and *HAHR* 15 (1935): 1-40, discusses miscellaneous articles appearing in English and United States journals. The lack of specific bibliographical data, and the inconsistency of the quality of the works noted, detract considerably from the value of the work. Finally, William Swilling Wallace, "A Checklist of Western Newspapers in the Mills Collection," *NMHR* 30 (1955): 136-152, has all the

advantages and disadvantages of checklists already mentioned in this section.

One should not overlook the standard generalized bibliographical aids such as the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, the indices of various journals and periodicals, of United States Government publications, of theses, and of books and articles published, and the Library of Congress Catalog. Many of the specialized aids discussed here are difficult to obtain, while the generalized aids may be obtained in virtually any university library. In reviewing the various items listed here, a number of items become apparent. The greatest lack in bibliographical aids is in the field of publications in Mexico and in Spanish generally. Furthermore, there has been no consistent effort by the bibliographers to list materials dealing with specific subjects on a regional basis, and accordingly the items sought are dispersed through a large number of publications.

CHAPTER II

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

FORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Books and Monographs

General Coverage

Diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico have generally been something less than cordial, and often, even after the Mexican War, the situation has been strained. That the conditions resulting from a common border have been a major factor in determining the nature of those relations is quite obvious, but other factors as well have been of grave importance. Whether the problems arising from a common border have been the key to the question, or whether the problem arose along the border as a result of deeper cultural and economic difference, is debatable; but it is clear that when Mexico achieved her independence the seeds of discord between the two countries had already been sown. Many Mexicans have seen the United States as a perpetual danger, one which must be guarded against at all times, and one which will overwhelm and absorb the Mexican nation at the least opportunity. Alberto María Carreño, the most potent exponent of this thesis, in two major works, *México y los Estados Unidos de América* (Mexico: Imprenta Victoria, 1922. 521 pp.) and *La diplomacia extraordinaria entre México y los Estados Unidos, 1789-1947* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1951. 2 vols.) insists that the United States began a career of conquest against Mexico in the late 18th century and has continued that policy until the present. Alfonso Junco, *Un siglo de México* (Fourth Edition, Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1956. 315 pp.) takes essentially the same point of view; according to him, virtually every misfortune which has befallen Mexico can be traced to the Machiavellian policy of the United States. A more balanced point of view, with respect to the overall policy and actions by the United States, may be found in James Morton Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. 644 pp.), and some of the important determinants in United States policy are discussed dispassionately in Frederick Sherwood Dunn, *The Diplomatic Protection of Americans in Mexico* (New

York: Columbia University Press, 1933. 439 pp.), Stuart Alexander MacCorkle, *American Policy of Recognition toward Mexico* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. 119 pp.), and A. H. Feller, *The Mexican Claims Commission, 1923-1934* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1935. 572 pp.). Feller is concerned primarily with the nature and settlement of claims arising from the Revolution, and accordingly has a great deal of information with respect to the events along the border. Quite aside from any situation along the border which might be credited with causing a diplomatic impasse, the Mexican Government was frequently at odds with the United States and with western European nations over the question of unpaid loans. Edgar Turlington, in his *Mexico and her Foreign Creditors* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 449 pp.), attempts to put that particular aspect of the problem in proper perspective and to indicate the nature and size of Mexican borrowing from independence to the date of publication. Other works which might be consulted for the general question are:

- Rippy, J. Fred, *United States and Mexico* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. 401 pp.). Something of a mundane presentation, with little imagination or perception, but with general coverage.
- Rippy, J. Fred, José Vasconcelos and Guy Stevens, *American Policies Abroad: Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. 254 pp.). Dealing primarily with the period of the Revolution, but not exclusively so.
- Smith, Laura M., *American Relations with Mexico* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1924. 249 pp.).

For somewhat more specialized treatments, dealing with particular periods or subjects, the following are useful:

- Esquivel Obregón, Toribio, *México y los Estados Unidos ante el derecho internacional* (Mexico: Herrero Hermanos Sucs., 1926. 191 pp.). Esquivel Obregón was one of Mexico's outstanding international law experts; this is a somewhat technical work, in which the central thesis is that the United States has more often depended upon power than law.
- Fabela, Isidro, *Historia diplomática del la Revolución Mexicana, I, 1912-1917* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958. 390 pp.). In spite of the dates given in the title, the book concerns the period from February, 1913 to April, 1914, of which it is an excellent synthesis of available material.
- Relyea, Pauline S., *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico under Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1910* (Northampton, Mass.: Department of History, Smith College, 1924. 91 pp.).

Cline, Howard F., *The United States and Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. 452 pp.). One of the volumes in the American Foreign Policy Library, Cline's work is not specifically devoted to an examination of the relations between the two countries; it is a more general work dealing with Mexico since 1900.

Texas Revolution and the Mexican War

From the Mexican standpoint, the most critical factor in relations between the two countries has been the attitude and policy of the northern republic between 1820 and 1853. It was during this period that our diplomatic representatives in Mexico were arrogant, overbearing and meddlesome, that our policy seemed devoted to the one end of seizing Mexican territory, and that our armies marched to the Mexican heartland. The classic general works for this period are Justin H. Smith's two works, *The Annexation of Texas* (Corrected edition. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1941. 496 pp.) and *The War with Mexico* (New York: Macmillan, 1919. 2 vols.), and George Lockhart Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1913. 2 vols.). Various aspects of Mexican-United States relations during these years have been the subject of thorough study; much of the material deals with the general question of whether the United States was at serious fault for the aggressive policy which resulted in denuding Mexico of about half her territory. Among the most enlightening of these books and monographs are:

Anderson, Robert, *An Artillery Officer in the Mexican War, 1846-1847* (New York: Putnam, 1911. 339 pp.).

Binkley, William Campbell, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas, 1836-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925. 253 pp.).

Castañeda, Carlos E. (ed.), *The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution* (Dallas: P. L. Turner Co., 1928. 391 pp.). A collection of writings from Santa Anna and other Mexicans involved, it is essentially an apologia for Mexican defeat and a diatribe against the United States.

Documentos para la historia de la Guerra de Tejas (Mexico: Editorial Nacional, 1952). With no indication of compiler or editor, this small book includes documents relative to Andrade's evacuation of San Antonio, manifestos by Filisola, proclamations by Urrea, and Urrea's diary of the war. The general import is that all loyal Mexicans would have to rally to the support of the government in defeating an attempt by the United States to take territory indirectly.

- Marshal, Thomas Maitland, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914. 266 pp.). The nature of that boundary was used as justification in some quarters for the Mexican War; this work is largely concerned with the Texas boundary.
- Chabot, Frederick C., *Corpus Christi and Lipantitlán: A Story of the Army of Texas Volunteers, 1842* (San Antonio, Texas: Artes Gráficas, 1942). Mexico made a feeble attempt to reconquer Texas in that year.
- The Conquest of Santa Fe and Subjugation of New Mexico by the Military Forces of the United States, with Documents, embracing the opinions of Honourable Thomas H. Benton, General Sam Houston, and others in reference to annexation; and a History of Colonel Doniphan's Campaign in Chihuahua* (Philadelphia: H. Parker and Co., 1847. 48 pp.). The anonymous author was a captain of volunteers in the military force.
- Fuller, John Douglas Pitts, *The Movement for the Acquisition of all of Mexico, 1846-1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. 174 pp.). During the Mexican War there was an organized effort in behalf of the complete annexation of Mexico as a spoils of war. This movement, never of major import but sufficiently strong to convince some Mexicans that it represented American public opinion, collapsed with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.
- McCormac, Eugene Irving, *James K. Polk, a Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922. 746 pp.).
- Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *Algunos documentos sobre el Tratado de Guadalupe y la situación de México durante la invasión* (Mexico: Publicaciones del Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1930). One of the publications of the Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano.
- Garber, Paul Neff, *The Gadsden Treaty* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1923. 222 pp.). This is a thorough study which at once belies the often-held Mexican contention that Santa Anna was forced by threat of invasion to accede to the sale of the Mesilla Valley, but at the same time points out United States' desires to obtain much more territory than was finally included in the treaty. Santa Anna's cupidity, rather than United States' threats, was the dominant factor according to Garber.
- Morton, Ohland, *Terán and Texas: A Chapter in Texas-Mexican Relations* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1948. 191 pp.). With an introduction by Eugene C. Barker.
- Emory, Major William Hemsley, *Notes on the Survey of the Boundary Line Between Mexico and the United States* (Cincinnati: Morgan and Overland, Printers, 1851. 13 pp.). Emory, a member of the

survey team commissioned to fix the boundary stipulated in the Treaty of Guadalupe, read this paper before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, May, 1851.

Emory, Major William Hemsley, *Mexican Boundary Survey* (Washington: G.P.O., 1857. 34th Congress, 1st Sess., House Exec. Doc. 135). The official report of the survey commission.

United States Senate, *The Treaty Between the United States and Mexico* (Washington: G.P.O., 1848. 30th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Doc. 52). Includes a record of the Senate proceedings on ratification, the message of the President submitting the Treaty, and correspondence between the Executive Office, General Scott and Trist.

United States Senate, *Occupation of Mexican Territory. Message from the President Transmitted in Answer to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of December 13, 1846; Reports from the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy relative to the Occupation of Mexican Territory* (Washington: G.P.O., 1912. Reprint of the 30th Congress, 1st Session, House Exec. Doc. 60). This constitutes the official position of the United States for going to war in 1846.

United States Senate, *Gray's Report* (Washington: Government Printing Office. Senate Executive Document 55, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, 1855. 50 pp.). A report concerning the surveying of the boundary under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

Filibustering and Indian Raids

With the Mexican War completed and the United States territory rounded out with the acquisition of the Mesilla Valley, the desire of individuals to take advantage of Mexican weakness and the wanderings of semi-savage Plains Indians created diplomatic problems. Lyman L. Woodman treats one aspect of this problem in *Cortina, Rogue of the Rio Grande* (San Antonio, Texas: Naylor, 1950. 111 pp.); Cortina, a Mexican national with personal ambitions and Juárez sympathies, made frequent raids into Texas in the 1850's and 1860's. The Cortina incursions, as well as other aspects of border relations in south Texas, are sloppily treated in Frank C. Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1917. 200 pp.). Pierce was not a professional historian, and his work suffers from poor documentation, poor organization, and lack of perception, but he does include some data suggestive for further investigation with respect to border relations. Robert H. Forbes is concerned with one of a number of filibustering raids in his *Crabb's Filibustering Expedition into Sonora, 1857: A Historical*

Account (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1952. 60 pp.). A series of documents which do not give a complete story. Forbes' small collection does point to a set of conditions which created serious diplomatic problems. Lawrence Green, *The Filibuster: The Career of William Walker* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1937. 350 pp.) is concerned with the same problem. Other works dealing with various filibustering expeditions during the period immediately after the Mexican War are:

Ainsa, Joseph Y., *History of the Crabb Expedition into N. Sonora; decapitation of the State Senator of California, Henry A. Crabb, and Massacre of Ninety-Eight of his Friends, at Caborca and Sonoita, Sonora, Mexico* (Phoenix: 1951. 51 pp.). Ainsa was the son of one of Crabb's filibusters.

Ramírez Cabañas, Joaquín, *Gastón de Raousset, conquistador de Sonora* (Mexico: Ediciones Xochitl, 1941. 192 pp.). This French national, obtaining much support from Californians, attempted to set up an independent republic; he was executed in 1854, after an almost unbelievable display of gallantry.

Sobarzo, Horacio, *Crónica de la aventura de Raousset-Boulbon en Sonora* (Mexico: Librería de M. Porrúa, 1954. 222 pp.).

Soulié, Maurice, *The Wolf Cub; the Great Adventure of Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon in California and Sonora, 1850-1854*. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1927. 281 pp.). The most complete account of the adventurer's American career.

Wyllis, Rufus K., *The French in Sonora, 1850-1854* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932. 319 pp.). The best account of the Mexican side of Raousset's adventures.

Raids across the border, in both directions, continued during and after the Civil War. In view of frequent protests from the United States, and because of frequent pleas from Mexican nationals in the border region, the Mexican Government dispatched an investigation commission to the region in 1873. The Comisión Pesquisadora made two reports that year, both of which were published in Mexico and then translated into English for distribution in the United States as a means of counteracting the general impression north of the border that Mexico was completely at fault. The official Mexican position with respect to responsibility for border raids, therefore, appears in Mexico, Comisión Pesquisadora de la Frontera del Norte, *Reports of the Committee of Investigation sent in 1873 by the Mexican Government to the Frontier of Texas* (New York: Baker and Goodwin, printers, 1875. 443 pp.). But these border incidents continued to

disrupt cordial relations between the two countries even during the Díaz regime, which was one of generally good relations. Robert Danforth Gregg, *The Influence of Border Trouble on Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1876-1910* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. 200 pp.), examines the problem from the standpoint of diplomatic relations. Good at this level, the work unfortunately gives little detail concerning the nature or the causes of the raids themselves.

Boundary Delimitation

But some problems difficult of settlement were inherent in the nature of the boundary and the land. In an arid country such as the entire border area, water is precious. The waters of the Rio Grande, a portion of which came from tributaries arising in Mexico, posed a problem of distribution; the Colorado, arising in the United States but flowing through a part of Mexico, posed a problem equally important but of a different order. Two accounts from the Mexican point of view, both attacking the distribution of waters as stipulated in the treaty of 1906 as unfair to Mexico, were the results of research for advanced degrees at the National University of Mexico. Sergio Berdeja Galeana, *El Tratado de aguas internacionales celebrado entre México y Los Estados Unidos el 3 de febrero de 1944 y convención de 21 de mayo de 1906* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1944. 63 pp.), takes the position that the later treaty is better than the first, but that both are disadvantageous for Mexico, while Fernando Castañeda Alatorre, *El tratado de 1906 celebrado entre México y Los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica sobre la distribución de las aguas del Río Bravo, en el Valle de Juárez, Chih. Su historia y crítica. Y estudio sobre el derecho de México para utilizar las aguas del Río Bravo en el propio Valle de Juárez, Chih., México* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1944. 63 pp.), takes the position that the 1906 treaty was not only unfair but that it was merely another manifestation of "the selfish and arbitrary policy" pursued by the United States. Water distribution has been a serious problem, along both the Rio Grande and the Colorado. Inasmuch as the Colorado draws virtually all of its water from U. S. watersheds, U. S. citizens have not illogically contended that Mexico had no right to the water. The most cogent expression of this point of view may be found in Colorado River Commission of Arizona, *Colorado River: International*

Problem (Phoenix: Colorado River Commission of Arizona, 1938. 36 pp., maps).

A more difficult problem, because it defies solution, concerns the Chamizal, a small parcel of land at present within the city limits of El Paso but which Mexico claims. Stemming from a shift in the course of the Rio Grande, the problem was submitted to an arbitral commission early in this century, but the award was refused by the United States on a technical question of jurisdiction. The Mexican case before the commission was published in English by the Mexican Government under title of "*El Chamizal*" *Case: Argument submitted by the United Mexican States to the Honourable Arbitral Tribunal and to the Agent of the Government of the United States of America under Provisions of Article V of the Arbitration Convention dated June 24, 1910.* (Mexico: 1911. 98 pp.), in order to try to convince the American people that their Government had refused to accept a legitimate award. At the same time, the Mexican Government published its entire case as *Memoria documentada del juicio arbitraje del Chamizal celebrada en virtud de la convención de junio 24 de 1910* (Mexico: Comisión Internacional de Límites entre México y Los Estados Unidos, Sección Mexicana, 1911. 3 volumes). The Chamizal case is also referred to in searing terms by Humberto Escoto Ochoa, *Integración y desintegración de nuestra frontera norte* (Mexico: Stylo, 1949. 213 pp.) in which he discusses the various treaties between the two countries resulting in territorial loss for Mexico. Delineation of the boundary, quite aside from such peculiar problems as that posed by the Chamizal, has posed a difficult and continuing problem to the two governments. At least a part of the difficulty has resulted from a continual shifting of the Rio Grande bed, but a Boundary Commission, which became semi-permanent in its function, prevented a recurrence of serious diplomatic controversy. Charles A. Timm's *The International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1941. 291 pp. Bureau of Research in Social Science Publication) examines the scope of the Commission's work. The most convenient source for the existing treaty between Mexico and the United States relative to the rectification of the Rio Grande boundary is United States Department of State, *Rectification of the Rio Grande* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934. 48 pp., maps).

The Mexican Revolution of 1910

The Mexican Revolution brought in its train the most difficult diplomatic relations which the two countries had faced since the Mexican War. Border raids were intensified, fighting along the border often resulted in death or injury to United States nationals in United States territory, destruction of American property, and the disruption of normal business relations. Furthermore, refugees fleeing the fighting often crossed into United States territory, military groups sometimes crossed into the United States in order to avoid capture by the enemy force in Mexico, and the various governments in Mexico frequently requested permission from the United States to allow military contingents to move from one point on the border to another via U. S. railroads. To add to an already complicated border picture, revolutionary activity in the interior brought loss to United States investors, death to United States nationals, and all-too-often forced loans which affected Mexicans and foreigners alike. With the completion of the Constitution of 1917 the factors of expropriation and curtailment of United States privileges in Mexico were added, and all of these conditions had a major influence on our policy of recognition. To date there is no satisfactory monograph on diplomatic relations during the revolutionary period (which for the present purposes may be said to encompass the years from 1910 to 1924), although the subject is treated in passing in virtually all books dealing with the history of the United States during that period and all books dealing with either United States foreign policy generally or with Mexico particularly. Charles W. Hackett's *The Mexican Revolution and the United States, 1910-1926* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1926. 107 pp.) is the publication closest to adequacy, but it was written at a time when only a small portion of the necessary documents was available and consequently it suffers.

The most important single border incident, insofar as international relations were concerned, was the Villa raid on Columbus, New Mexico, in early 1916. The incident has received some attention in monographic form, as has the occupation of Veracruz in 1914, but the quality of the products is generally poor. Following are the most useful:

Harris, Larry A., *Pancho Villa and the Columbus Raid* (El Paso, Texas: McMath, 1949. 100 pp.). Based on interviews with Villa associates, the account is more anecdotal than historically accurate; it is not particularly perceptive.

- Mena Brito, Bernardino, *Ocho diálogos con Carranza* (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1933. 198 pp.). Mena Brito was a *carrancista*; one of his "dialogues" concerns the Villa raid and the Punitive Expedition.
- Palomares, J. N., *La invasión yanqui en 1914* (Mexico: Privately published, 1940. 282 pp.). Passionately critical of the Wilson action in spite of Juan Sánchez Azcona's prologue indicating the objective nature of the work.
- Salinas Carranza, Alberto, *La expedición punitiva* (Mexico, 1936. 430 pp.). A fine collection of documents in which the principal figures—Wilson, Carranza, Villa, Pershing, Luis Cabrera, Obregón—are allowed to speak for themselves. Salinas Carranza was Don Venustiano's nephew.
- Tompkins, Colonel Frank, *Chasing Villa: The Story behind the Story of Pershing's Expedition into Mexico* (Harrisburg: The Military Service Publishing Company, 1934. 270 pp.). A participant's comments on the campaign, on Wilson and his policy, on Carranza, on the character of the Mexicans, and on many other items, *Chasing Villa* is of value principally because it demonstrates an attitude.
- Toulmin, H. A., Jr., *With Pershing in Mexico* (Harrisburg, Penn.: The Military Service Publishing Company, 1935. 142 pp.). Another participant's view of somewhat the same phenomena, it is generally superior to Tompkins.
- Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *Nota Enviada por el Gobierno Constitucionalista al de la Casa Blanca, con motivo de la incursiones de tropas americanas en territorio mexicano* (Mexico: Sec. Rel. Exteriores, 1916. 20 pp.). A statesmanlike but bitter protest.

All during the period, there were citizens of the United States, some highly placed politically, who insisted that intervention by the United States was the only solution to an intolerable situation. As early as 1911 a resolution for intervention was introduced in the Senate and ably supported by the United States Senate, *Affairs in Mexico: Brief in support of Senate Resolution of April 20, 1911, relative to intervention in Mexico. Presented by Mr. Culberson* (Washington: G.P.O., 1911. 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Doc. 25). President Wilson made his position clear on intervention in the United States House, *Mexican Affairs: Address of the President of the United States delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, August 27, 1913* (Washington: G.P.O., 1913. 14 pp.), at which time he virtually demanded the resignation of Huerta but denied any intention of intervening. The most ardent exponent of intervention was Albert B. Fall, whose oil in-

terests in Mexico were threatened by the revolutionary program; he used his position as Chairman of a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee to develop a case for his cause. United States Senate, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs* (Washington: G.P.O., 1919-1920, 2 volumes, 66th Congress, 2nd Session, Sen. Doc. 285), consisting of over three thousand pages of testimony, in the main from individuals along the border who favored intervention, was the result. But the opponents of intervention had their spokesmen, too, the most caustic being Samuel Guy Inman, *Intervention in Mexico* (New York: Association Press, 1919. 248 pp.) and Leander Jan de Bekker, *The Plot Against Mexico* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1919. 295 pp.).

Other publications bearing on the period are:

- Barron, C. W., *The Mexican Problem* (New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. 136 pp.).
- Calero, Manuel, *The Mexican Policy of President Woodrow Wilson as it Appears to a Mexican* (New York: Smith and Thomas, 1916. 97 pp.). Whether Wilson called his policy intervention or not, it so appeared to Calero.
- Diego-Fernández, Salvador, *Los pactos de Bucareli. El Tratado de la Mesilla* (Mexico: Editorial Polis, 1937. 78 pp.). Comments on the negotiations for the settlement of claims as provided for in the Bucareli conference of 1923, and the renunciation of United States rights in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec as provided for in the Gadsden Purchase treaty.
- Gómez Robledo, Antonio, *Los convenios de Bucareli ante el derecho internacional* (Mexico: Editorial Polis, 1938. 238 pp.). A discussion of the legal status of the Bucareli agreements, which the Mexican Government insisted was without treaty force and which the United States held was in effect a treaty.
- Gómez Robledo, Antonio, *The Bucareli Agreements in International Law* (Mexico: National University of Mexico Press, 1940. 228 pp.). An English translation of the above.
- Robinson, Edgar E. and Victor J. West, *The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1917* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1917. 428 pp.). A convenient collection of Wilson's addresses and documents on foreign policy, including those with respect to Mexico.
- Sepúlveda, César, *Las relaciones diplomáticas entre México y Los Estados Unidos en el siglo XX* (Monterrey, Mexico: Privately printed, 64 pp.).
- Silva Herzog, Jesús, *Nueve estudios mexicanos* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1953. 315 pp.). One of the "studies" concerns United States-Mexican relations; astute but biased.
- Stowell, Jay S., *The Near Side of the Mexican Question* (New York:

- Doran, 1921. 123 pp.). Stowell, a Protestant minister and missionary, presents one segment of Protestant thought relative to anticlericalism in Mexico.
- Velasco Ceballos, R., *Se apoderá Estados Unidos de América de Baja California? La invasión filibustero de 1911*. (Mexico: n.p.; 1920. 198 pp.). Velasco, fearful of the United States and violently anti-American, contends that the filibusters probably had official support from Washington.
- Walling, William English, *The Mexican Question: Mexico and American-Mexican Relations under Calles and Obregón* (New York: Robbins Press, 1927. 205 pp.).
- United States Department of State, *Note of the Secretary of State to the Secretary of Foreign Relations of the De Facto Government of Mexico, dated June 20, 1916*. With reference to the Punitive Expedition.
- United States Department of State, *Affairs in Mexico. Message from the President of the United States transmitting in Response to a Senate Resolution of January 6, 1916, certain information relative to Affairs in Mexico* (Washington: G.P.O., 1916. 55 pp.).
- United States Department of State, *Proceedings of the United States Mexican Commission Convened in Mexico City, May 14, 1923* (Washington: G.P.O., 1925. 63 pp.). Rather than a full report of the proceedings, which lasted from May through August, this is essentially the United States position.
- Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *Correspondencia oficial cambiada entre los gobiernos de México y los E.U. con motivo de las dos leyes reglamentarias de la fracción I del artículo 27 constitucional* (Mexico: Sec. Rel. Ext., 1926. 85 pp.). Article 27 concerns the rights to the subsoil and the stipulations with regard to the restorations of the ejidos, two items to which the United States objected strenuously.
- Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *La cuestión internacional mexicana-americana durante el gobierno del Gral. Don Alvaro Obregón* (Mexico: Sec. Rel. Ext., 1926. 269 pp.). A general official review of the major questions concerning expropriation, oil, claims settlement, recognition and other major items subject to diplomatic correspondence. The arguments presented tend to be legalistic.
- Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *La insubstancia de una convención de reclamaciones* (Mexico: Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano, 1928. 214 pp.).

One of the major concerns of both governments following the Revolution, in addition to substantive questions brought to the fore by the policy of the new government, was the question of the

payment of claims to United States nationals for damages to life and property, either through military action or through the enforcement of the newly created laws. As is normal in such situations, many of the claims were highly exaggerated, many were without legal basis, and many were completely justified. In 1923 the two governments agreed to establish two commissions, one for the purpose of handling "general claims" and the other to handle "special claims;" the United States also established as a part of each commission, a means of screening the claims submitted. The special claims, the subject of Feller's work, previously cited, were settled in a bloc by convention in 1934. The General Claims Commission continued to sit, weighing the evidence submitted in support of the claims made. Over \$351,000,000 in claims were made by United States nationals, of which the United States commissioners allowed nearly \$38,000,000. Prior to the final decisions regarding the validity of the claims, Mexico agreed in 1941 to pay \$40,000,000 total, a part of which had already been paid, a part of which was paid at the time of the settlement, and the remainder of which was paid in annual installments. The most important aspects of the problem may be gleaned from the following publications:

- Desvernine, Raoul E., *Claims Against Mexico: A Brief Study of the International Law Applicable to Claims of Citizens of the United States and Other Countries for Losses Sustained in Mexico during the Revolutions of the Past Decade* (New York: Private printing, 1921. 149 pp. Revised 2nd edition, 1922, 150 pp.).
- United States Department of State, *General Claims Commission, United States and Mexico* (Washington: G.P.O., 1935. 4 pp.). The text of the convention which extended the commission provided for in 1923.
- United States Department of State, *Claims Convention between United States and Mexico* (Washington: G.P.O., 1935. 6 pp. Treaty Series 878). The protocol settling the special claims, in 1934.
- United States Department of State, *Claims Convention, Signed at Washington, November 19, 1941* (Washington: G.P.O., 1941. Treaty Series 980). The agreement whereby Mexico paid \$40,000,000 in settling claims. Some account of the manner of payment and the amount still owed at that date.
- United States Special Mexican Claims Commission, *Report to the Secretary of State with Decisions Showing the Reasons for the Allowance or Disallowance of the Claims* (Washington: Department of State, 1949. 676 pp. Arbitration Series 9). The report of the commission delegated to distribute equably the \$40,000,000 paid by

Mexico under the 1941 Convention. The various cases and claims discussed give some extraordinarily interesting data, much of it dealing with conditions along the border.

World War II and the Bracero Movement

World War II brought a serious manpower shortage to the United States, particularly in the agricultural field, which resulted in extensive migrations from Mexico into many parts of the United States. The "bracero" movement has since become an accepted pattern of labor, bringing with it grave problems of a social and economic, as well as diplomatic, order. In another section of this work the former two problems will be covered, but here we are concerned only with the diplomatic aspects. The major trends may be gleaned from the following official United States publications:

United States Department of State, *Agreement Regarding Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers, signed at Mexico, D.F., August 4, 1942* (Washington: G.P.O., 1942. U. S. Executive Agreement Series 278). The terms under which the migrants were to come to the United States are outlined in detail.

United States Department of State, *Agreement on the Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers to the United States, effected by exchanges of note signed at Mexico City, April 26, 1943* (Washington: G.P.O., 1943. U. S. Executive Agreement Series 351). A revision of the text of the previous agreement.

United States Department of State, *Agreement Regarding the Recruiting of Mexican Non-Agricultural Workers, effected by exchange of note signed at Mexico City, April 29, 1943* (Washington: G.P.O., 1943. Executive Agreement Series 376). Relative to unskilled non-agricultural Mexican labor, for non-agricultural labor in the United States.

United States Department of State, *Mexican Agricultural Workers. Legal Employment of Certain Workers Who Entered the United States Illegally. Agreement between the United States and Mexico, entered into force March 10, 1947* (Washington: G.P.O., 1949. 10 pp. Treaty Series 1857). An agreement through which both the United States and Mexico pledged themselves to create conditions which would discourage the "wetback" movement.

United States Department of State, *Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers. Agreement between the United States and Mexico superseding Agreements of April 26, 1943, and March 10, 1947 entered into force February 21, 1948* (Washington: G.P.O., 1950. 19 pp. Treaty Series 1968). An informative guide concerning the needs and protective devices for the legal migrants.

Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *La protección de Mexicanos en los Estados Unidos* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1940). Not specifically concerned with the "bracero" movement, but indicative of Mexico's concern for her nationals working in the United States.

Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *La migración y protección de Mexicanos en el extranjero* (Mexico: Sec. Rel. Exteriores, 1928, 60 pp.). The same comment which applied to the immediately previous entry.

Mexican expropriation of the oil industry brought a storm of controversy and of protest; the literature concerning the question is voluminous and (with few exceptions) biased. In view of the extensiveness of the publications, and the peripheral nature of the question, only three publications will be mentioned here. *Mexico's Oil: A Compilation of Official Documents in the Conflict of Economic Order in the Petroleum Industry, with an introduction summarizing its Causes and Consequences* (Mexico: The Government of Mexico, 1940. 881 pp.) is a great tome addressed to the American public. It is, of course, the official Mexican position on the question and as such has a definite Mexican bias. Roscoe B. Gaither, *Expropriation in Mexico; The Facts and the Law* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1940. 204 pp.) is not an official publication, but it represents a strong bias in favor of the oil companies and is a fairly good representation of the official position taken by the United States prior to the final settlement. The hoary supposition that the Mexican Revolution was influenced by the Russian Revolution is repeated by implication. Merrill Rippy, "El Petroleo y la Revolución Mexicana," (in *Problemas Agrícolas é Industriales de México*, v. 6, #3, 1954, 9-181; although appearing technically as an article, it is book length) is a scholar's attempt at objective analysis long after the fact—some may consider it too biased in favor of the Mexican position.

But formal diplomatic relations between Mexico and the United States do not all revolve around debts, expropriations, border raids, lost territory and equally unpleasant subjects; much of the diplomacy is concerned with relatively mundane affairs, important to both countries and the subject of much haggling, but rarely creating heat or reported in the headlines. Some of those endeavors which are important to the border are suggested by the following official reports from the United States Government:

United States Tariff Commission, *Trade Agreement between the United States and Mexico: Digests of Trade Data with respect to*

products on which concessions were granted by the United States (Washington: G.P.O., 1943. 355 pp.). An extensive treatise including the text and the principal features of the agreement, with statistical and other data relative to the production and trade in commodities on which concessions were granted to Mexico.

United States Department of State, *Agreement Regarding Military Service, effected by exchange of notes signed at Mexico City, January 22, 1943* (Washington: G.P.O., 1943. Executive Agreement Series 323). Regulation of certain aspects of conduct and performance by the military personnel of either country residing in the other, made necessary by World War II.

United States Department of State, *Agreement Concerning the Reciprocal Transit of Military Aircraft, signed at Washington, April 1, 1941* (Washington: G.P.O., 1941. United States Treaty Series 971). The military planes of either country could cross over the territory of the other during an elapsed time of not greater than 24 hours, the planes could land at designated fields if they desired, and could enjoy the facilities of those fields. Prior to the agreement there were frequent formal protests from Mexico concerning U. S. military planes, generally piloted by flight students, violating Mexican territory along the border.

United States Department of State, *Weather Stations: Cooperative Program in Mexico* (Washington: Department of State, 1950, 8 pp. U. S. Treaty Series 1995.) The text of a cooperative agreement signed in 1949, retroactively to July 1, 1948, concerning mutual exchange of weather data.

A final official publication may be of use for the scholar: Mexico Sec. Relaciones Exteriores, *Tratados y convenciones vigentes entre los Estados Unidos Mexicanos y otros países* (Mexico: Sec. Rel. Exteriores, 1930) is a convenient reference for diplomatic understandings then in force.

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

A number of good theses have been written with respect to diplomatic relations between the two countries; some of them, in slightly different form, have been published, but they will be cited here nevertheless:

Alexander, Gladys Martha, *The Position of Texas in the Relations between the United States and Mexico* (Master's Thesis, North Texas State College, 1942). Not particularly perceptive.

Castañeda Alatorre, Fernando, *El tratado de 1906 celebrado entre México y los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica sobre la distribución de la aguas del Rio Bravo en el Valle de Juárez, Chihuahua* (Master's Thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1944). Published under a slightly different title and with some additions.

- Donnell, Guy R., *United States Intervention in Mexico, 1914* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1951). A rather meticulous examination of the conditions and the intent of the occupation of Veracruz.
- Eckert, Jacqueline C. G., *International Law in United States-Mexican Relations* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1939).
- Gregory, Gladys G., *El Chamizal: A Boundary Problem between United States and Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1937). A good treatment of a difficult question.
- MacCorkle, Stuart Alexander, *Our Recognition Policy Toward Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1932). Published with slight changes in title and text the following year.
- Middleton, Annie L., *Studies Relating to the Annexation of Texas by the United States* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1938).
- Morton, Ohland, *The Life of General Manuel Mier y Terán, as it affected Texas-Mexican Relations, 1821-1832* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1939). Published with only minor changes.
- Rossiter, William M., *Mexican-American Relations, 1913-1920: A Re-appraisal* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1953). This is the best work on the period.
- Shearer, Ernest Charles, *Border Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1848-1860* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1940). Similar to Gregg's work, the emphasis is on formal diplomatic relations.

Articles in Journals

A number of good articles pointing to the border as a focal point in relations between Mexico and the United States have been published in various scholarly journals. Some of the articles cited here do not refer to the border solely, but they all impinge in one way or another on the international boundary and formal diplomatic relations between the two countries. For convenience in consultation, the articles are divided into seven groups, depending upon the subject matter.

Boundary Delimitation

The boundary itself has been the subject of three articles:

- Herrera, Ignacio, "Estudio sobre el límite internacional terrestre de los Estados Unidos de Norte América con la República Mexicana," *Bol. Soc. Mex. Geo. Estad.* 65 (Jan.-Feb., 1948): 189. Concerning the work of the boundary commissions.
- Timm, Charles A., "Some Observations on the Nature and Work of the International Boundary Commission, United States and

Mexico," *SWSSQ* 15 (1934-35): 271-96. Problems to be solved as a result of shifts in the main course of the Rio Grande.

Peters, Donald W., "The Rio Grande Boundary Dispute in American Diplomacy," *SWHQ* 54 (1951): 412-429. The story of the Chamizal and attempts to rectify the boundary along the area to the south. Good material, but incomplete on the Chamizal.

United States Acquisitions

Three articles deal with some aspects of the acquisition of Mexican territory by the United States:

Gerhard, Peter, "Baja California in the Mexican War," *PHR* 14 (1945): 418-424. This is a good, though short, article on a little known phase of the Mexican war; this area needs further investigation.

Rippy, J. Fred, "The Boundary of New Mexico and the Gadsden Treaty," *HAHR* 4 (1921): 715-742. Negotiations relative to the settlement of the boundary, and the negotiations for the Mesilla Valley. Rippy gives some of the charges and counter-charges of duplicity between the two countries, including a charge by Mexico that the United States had militarily occupied the area prior to the purchase. Garber's book, published 3 years later, is much fuller, but Rippy gives some interesting data not included in Garber.

Stenburg, Richard R., "Jackson, Anthony Butler and Texas," *SWSSQ* 13 (1922-33): 264-286. Jackson's relations with Butler after the latter's return from Mexico—Jackson encouraged Butler to sound out the Mexicans concerning the possibility of selling Texas to the United States.

Border Raids

Border raids between 1848 and 1916 have been the subject of a considerable number of research topics:

Crimmins, Martin L., "Colonel Buell's Expedition into Mexico in 1880," *NMHR* 10 (1935): 133-142. A little-known expedition in pursuit of Indians raiding the border area. The entire question of the Indian forays back and forth across the border, and their influence on diplomatic relations as well as economic development and attitudinal solidification, needs further study.

Cumberland, Charles C., "Precursors of the Mexican Revolution of 1910," *HAHR* 22 (1942): 344-356. The Partido Liberal (see next item) instituted a series of raids along the border in an effort to launch a revolution against Díaz in 1906; later attacks by the same party are also mentioned as well as interior activities by allied groups.

Cumberland, Charles C., "An Analysis of the Program of the Mexican

- Liberal Party, 1906," *The Americas* 4 (1947-1948): 294-301. The emphasis is on the party doctrines rather than border activities.
- Cumberland, Charles C., "Border Raids in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1915," *SWHQ* 57 (1953-1954): 285-311. An examination of the raids across the border in that year, with some attention to the responsibility for the raids, to the Plan de San Diego, to the effects on economic and social intercourse, and to reaction by public and private officials to the situation as well as their influence on U. S. recognition of Carranza. The Plan de San Diego needs further investigation.
- Cumberland, Charles C., "Mexican Revolutionary Movements from Texas, 1906-1912," *SWHQ* 52 (1948-1949): 301-324. An examination of these movements, in terms of both the objectives of the revolutionists and of the diplomatic problems their activities posed.
- Rippy, J. Fred, "The Indians of the Southwest in the Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico, 1848-1853," *HAHR* 2 (1919): 363-396. Efforts of the United States to carry out Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the Indian raids which the United States promised to control but could not. Article XI was abrogated in the Gadsden Purchase treaty.
- Rippy, J. Fred, "Anglo-American Filibusters and the Gadsden Treaty," *HAHR* 5 (1922): 155-180. Filibustering between 1848 and 1853; Walker's raid into Mexican territory is included.
- Shearer, Ernest C., "The Carbajal Disturbances," *SWHQ* 55 (1951-1952): 201-230. Border disturbances in 1851-1852 resulting from Carbajal's activities in the Matamoros-Camargo area.
- Shearer, Ernest C., "The Callahan Expedition," *SWHQ* 54 (1950-1951): 430-451. Diplomacy resulting from Callahan's raid into Mexico pursuing runaway slaves and recalcitrant Indians.

Waters of the Rio Grande

In the field of international law, three scholars, two from Mexico and one from the United States, consider the question of water from the Rio Grande:

- Esquivel Obregón, Toribio, "El tratado de aguas entre México y Estados Unidos," *Jus* 14 (1945): 283-305. In spite of reservations concerning the terms, Esquivel favored acceptance of the newly negotiated treaty.
- Tamayo, Jorge L., "Las Aguas internacionales del norte de México y el Tratado de 1944," *TriEcon* 12 (1945): 466-487. This distinguished Mexican geographer contended that the treaty was favorable to Mexico and should be accepted; that unlike the treaty of 1906, the terms of the new treaty did not besmirch the national honor. Texts of both treaties included.

- Timm, Charles, A., "Some International Problems Arising from Water Diversion on the United States: Mexican Boundary," *SWSSQ* 13 (1932-1933): 1-15.

Fiscal and Commercial Questions

Commercial and financial arrangements between the two nations have received attention from both Mexican and U. S. authors:

- Borchard, Edwin M., "International Pecuniary Claims against Mexico," *Yale Law Journal* (March, 1917). A discussion of the nature and the size of the claims.
- Cosío Villegas, Daniel, "México y Estados Unidos," *Política y Espíritu* 3, No. 29 (Jan., 1948): 175-187. The contention is that the United States and Mexico lack any firm basis for friendly relations; the author gives some attention to the advantages and disadvantages of the tourist traffic.
- "Denuncia del Tratado Comercial Mexico-Americano," *Jornadas Industriales* 2, #17 (May-June, 1950): 1-9. Points of view expressed by the Cámara Nacional de la Industria de Transformación relative to the trade agreement, which was subject for renunciation or renewal.
- Loomis, Francis B., "Notes on our Tariff Relations with Mexico," *Annals* 32 (November, 1910): 343-347.
- Mora Ortiz, Gonzalo, "La denuncia del tratado de comercio: principales efectos sobre las exportaciones mexicanas," *TriEcon* 17 (1950): 541-569.
- Torres Gaytán, Ricardo, "Repercusiones de la denuncia del tratado de comercio mexico-norteamericano," *InvEcon* 10 (1950): 511-532. Examinations of the negative and positive effects of ending the trade agreement with the United States and/or joining GATT. The author contends that the treaty should be renounced and that, at least for the time being, Mexico should not join the international trade organization, but that she should raise her own tariffs as a stimulus to Mexican economy.
- Trowbridge, Edward D., "The United States and Mexican Finances," *Annals* 83 (May, 1919): 155-166. Some comments on the money owed to the United States by Mexico as a result of loans and claims.
- Villaseñor, Eduardo, "Aranceles americanos contra productos mexicanos," *RevEcon* 4 (1941): 25-28. United States duties on Mexican products are not necessary for U. S. economic well being.
- Woolsey, L. H., "Settlement of Claims between the United States and Mexico," *American Journal of International Law* 30 (1936): 99-102. An authoritative discussion of claims settlement under the recently concluded convention.
- Wylie, Kathryn H., "The United States-Mexican Trade Agreement,"

ForAgri 7 (1943): 39-48. Application to agriculture of the provisions of the reciprocal trade agreement concluded between the United States and Mexico on December 23, 1942. Concessions made by both countries listed.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910

As has already been indicated, the Mexican Revolution directly and indirectly created problems of major concern between the two countries; various facets of these problems are covered in article form:

- Cumberland, Charles C., "Huerta y Carranza ante la ocupación de Veracruz," *Historia Mexicana* #24 (1957). The occupation of Veracruz had an immediately deleterious effect on the progress of the northern revolutionary effort, and created strained relations between the Carrancistas and the United States, as well as tending to make the incipient split between Carranza and Villa more distinct.
- Hammond, W. J., "Some Aspects of Interational Labor Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1924-1940," *SWSSQ* 25 (1944-1945): 208-221.
- Loomis, Francis B., "Attitude of the United States toward other American Powers," *Annals* 26 (November, 1909): 19-24. A general account, including Mexico.
- Marvaud, Angel, "Imbroglío mexicana et les Etats-Unis," *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*, November 16, 1913. The United States and the Huerta question.
- Mondell, Frank W., "The Duty of the United States toward Mexico," *Annals* 54 (July, 1914): 175-182.
- Rowe, Leo S., "The Scope of Our Obligations toward Mexico," *Annals* 54 (July, 1914): 219-235.
- Rowe, Leo S., "What National Policy Shall We Adopt with Reference to Mexico?" *Annals* 66 (July, 1916): 118-124.
- Saulsbury, Willard, "The Policy of the United States toward Mexico," *Annals* 54 (July, 1914): 134-135.
- Stevens, Guy, "Protecting the Rights of Americans in Mexico," *Annals* 132 (July, 1927): 164-167.
- Tannenbaum, Frank, "Mexico's Internal Policies and American Diplomacy," *Annals* 132 (July, 1927): 172-175.

Of the above six *Annals* articles, only Stevens takes an essentially unsympathetic stand toward Mexico.

INFORMAL OR NON-DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Formal diplomatic relations are, apparently, materially affected by situations and conditions which we refer to here as "informal" relations. Such contacts affect attitudes, and it is to be assumed that the attitudes of the average citizens in turn affect the diplomatic relations between the nations; this seems to be the case with respect to Mexico and the United States. The informal contacts include, of course, patterns of discrimination and relations between migrant laborers and the local residents, both subjects which are covered in separate sections of this work. Here we are concerned with a variety of other informal relations, including business relations, cooperative groups along the border, and similar item of interest. Unfortunately, the literature in this field is rather limited aside from purely descriptive items concerning the extent of trade, the number of individual crossings of the border, the activities of the border patrol, and like subjects. From the scant literature, only a vague and incomplete picture of the border as a region of important informal relations emerges.

Books and Monographs

One of the areas in which such informal relations are persistent and continuing is in the field of economic activity. Jorge Espinosa de los Reyes, *Relaciones económicas entre México y Estados Unidos, 1870-1910* (Mexico: Nacional Financiera, 1951. 189 pp.) analyzes the extent and the nature of foreign investments in Mexico, particularly during the Díaz period, and points out the changes in trade patterns during the era. Although not specifically oriented to the border, much of the economic activity was in the northern states. Dealing with a more recent period, Tomme Clark Call, *The Mexican Venture; from Political to Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. 273 pp.) brings a perceptive understanding to the economic problems besetting Mexico and stresses the importance of trade between Mexico and the border states as an element of economic importance to both countries. A much earlier account of such economic relations is given in a colorful story of trade between United States' traders and trappers on the one hand and the Mexicans on the other, prior to the Mexican war; Lewis Hector Garrard's *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Cincinnati: H. W. Derby and Co., 1850. 349 pp.) is delightful and profitable reading. A different aspect of the situation is covered in *Basic Industries in Texas and*

Northern Mexico (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1950. 193 pp.), which consists of the papers presented to a conference held by the Institute of Latin American Studies in June, 1949. Among the industries discussed were chemicals, oil, steel, and sugar; subsidiary elements covered were water supplies, hydroelectric power, and trade between the regions. Highly useful data are included in the papers. A similar publication, S. D. Myres, Jr., (ed.), *The Southwest in International Affairs* (Dallas: Institute of Public Affairs of Southern Methodist University, 1936. 219 pp.) resulted from a similar conference held in Dallas in 1936, but the emphasis was more heavily concentrated on the trade aspects.

A completely different facet of informal relations is covered, incidentally but perceptively, in Dr. I. J. Bush's *Gringo Doctor* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Press, 1939. 261 pp.), in which he discusses his experiences as a doctor in the El Paso region, treating Spanish-speaking patients on both sides of the international boundary. Virginia Madison, *The Big Bend Country of Texas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1955. 263 pp.) is also concerned in part with the "peculiar relations between Mexicans and Anglos," and presents some interesting ideas on the subject. In *The Filibuster: The Career of William Walker* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., c1937. 350 pp.), Laurence Greene gives some detail of Walker's ill-conceived Sonora expedition and in so doing points out one aspect of destructive informal contacts. Manuel González Ramírez' *La Huelga de Cananea* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956. 154 pp.) touches upon another destructive aspect—that of importing United States nationals into Mexico for the purpose of giving essentially military protection to investments. Then, too, Mexican anticlericalism, particularly virulent in the border states, created grave problems although it was not subject to diplomatic intervention; one aspect of this situation is covered in Emilio Portes Gil, *The Conflict between the Civil Power and the Clergy* (Mexico: Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1935. 135 pp.). José de Onís, *The United States as Seen by Spanish American Writers, 1776-1890* (New York: Hispanic Institute of the United States, 1952. 226 pp.), deals specifically with neither Mexico nor the border, but much of his material gives an added dimension. DeBekker, Forbes, Gregg, Stowell, Tompkins, Toulmin, Turlington, Walling and Woodman, already cited, also have material of value in the present context. Paul Horgan's *Great River*, more fully described in another section, is an added source.

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

Thesis writers have been no more productive in this field than have the writers of monographs; only three of value touch on the subject.

Davids, Jules, *American Political and Economic Penetration of Mexico, 1877-1920* (Ph.D. Thesis, Georgetown University, 1947).

De Wetter, Mardee, *Revolutionary El Paso, 1910-1917* (Master's Thesis, Texas Western College, 1946). Changes occurring in El Paso as a result of the impact of the Mexican Revolution. Somewhat unsophisticated.

Hartrick, Wade J., *Foreign Trade through Texas Ports* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1949). Only obliquely covers the subject.

Articles in Journals

Journal literature is somewhat more prolific but scarcely more enlightening:

Anonymous, "El algodón mexicano: sus necesidades de exportación," *RevEcon* 4 (1941): 29-31. A short and impassioned plea for a lifting of United States cotton import restrictions.

Carvillo, Alfonso R., "Mexico Looks at the United States," *SSR* 15 (1930-31): 558-561. An opinion survey of 30 Mexicans from widely differing social strata, with a wide attitudinal range; the research was unstructured and the analysis lacking.

Coalson, George O., "Mexican Contract Labor in American Agriculture," *SWSSQ* 33 (1952-53): 228-238.

"La Política del Buen Vecino y sus consecuencias en el mundo indígena," *América Indígena* 7, #2 (April 1947): 103. Editorial comment.

Ellison, Simon J., "An Anglo-American Plan for the Colonization of Mexico," *SWSSQ* 16, #2 (1935-36): 16. Shelby's Confederate colony after the Civil War, detailing problems of moving to the area and the aroused suspicions of the Mexicans from the border to the site of the colony.

Gerhard, Peter, "The Socialist Invasion of Baja California, 1911," *PHR* 15 (1946): 295-304. Partly Mexican and partly United States nationals took part in the attempt to establish a socialist state.

Hyde, Charles H., "Mexico and the Claims of Foreigners," *Illinois Law Review*, January, 1914.

Rolle, Andrew F., "Futile Filibustering in Baja California, 1880-1890," *PHR* 20 (1951): 159-166. Two unsuccessful attempts made to organize expeditions to leave from San Diego.

Ruiz, Ramon E., "Hijos olvidados: La historia del pueblo de descen-

dencia mexicana en los Estados Unidos," *América Indígena* 12 (1952): 121.

Taylor, Thomas R. and Bernard H. Noll, "Mexico as a Field for American Trade Expansion," *Annals* 94 (March, 1921): 76-80.

Werlin, Joseph Sidney, "Mexican Opinion of Us," *SAQ* 43 (1944): 233-247. A more solid piece than that of Carvillo. The most significant finding is that those groups generally designated as rightist are the most openly hostile or the least friendly to the United States.

Wylie, Kathryn, "Agricultural Relations with Mexico," *ForAgri* 6 (1942): 365-373. Movement of agricultural products across the border, and the effect of the war on that movement.

Wylie, Kathryn, "Vegetable Production along the Pan American Highway in Mexico," *ForAgri* 10 (1946): 181-184. Climate, soils, methods of production as well as preparation of the products for shipment to the United States. Concerns only that part of the Pan-American highway within the border states.

Articles in this section, previously cited, by Cosío Villegas, Hammond, Herrera, M. Rippey, Shearer, Stenbury, Trowbridge, and Villaseñor, also have material of interest for this topic.

General Summary of Literature on Diplomacy

Available pertinent and perceptive literature on formal diplomatic relations between the two nations is plentiful and gives fairly accurate and adequate coverage for most of the major events and times; it must be understood, of course, that diplomatic policy is always open to interpretation and that many interesting facets of particular situations have not been covered. The greatest lacunae in the literature concern relations since 1900. The picture of the nature and reason for American policy toward Mexico during the latter days of the Taft administration is cloudy; whether Japanese negotiations for the possible use of Magdalena Bay, for example, had any material effect on the Taft decision to send troops to the Mexican border during the Madero revolution is still not clear. It is clear, in spite of the small amount of publication on the issue, that the United States border policy had a material effect on the fortunes of the Díaz administration against the Madero movement; whether the effect was crucial is yet to be determined. The full story of the maneuverings for the recognition of Carranza in 1915, for the recognition of Obregón after 1920, for the settlement of the debt and oil questions prior to 1923, and a multitude of other important questions has been in the main unsatisfactorily investigated by either Mexican or United States scholars. Many other questions stemming from the Revolution need fuller coverage, as

do a number of more general and less dramatic issues: the diplomatic importance of the water situation, particularly in recent years of drought coincident with increased irrigation, is only one of a large number of possible fields for further investigation.

A final word must be said with respect to the government documents cited in this section. Both governments publish enormous quantities of material dealing with diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic problems; those cited here are intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. Any pretense at thorough coverage of these materials could come only after consulting the various guides, such as the cumulative list of publications, published by the governments for that purpose.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION, TRAVEL AND GEOGRAPHY

UNITED STATES TERRITORY

Books and Monographs

Much of our knowledge of conditions, physical as well as social, of the border country comes from travellers' accounts; this is particularly true of the 19th century, when few attempts were made by serious agencies or scholars to inventory or to describe the area. Most of the accounts, furthermore, touch only obliquely on the region as unique, although the large number of travellers who felt compelled to write of their experiences seems to indicate that there was some awareness of uniqueness. This tendency is well-marked on any frontier, however, and it may have been that it was a frontier, rather than a border zone, which stimulated the reports. On the other hand, a number of excellent accounts early in the past century viewed the mixed Spanish-Indian culture as new and startling; when traders and settlers from other parts of the United States began to move into the area, many of the geographic and social differences made great impressions. Mrs. Edith M. Bowyer, for example, in her *Observations of a Ranch-woman in New Mexico* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1898. 271 pp.) gives considerable attention to the problems met on a ranch owned by Anglos but worked by "Mexicans," to use her term. Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert, *We Fed them Cactus* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954. 186 pp.), on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the difficulties of sheep and cattle ranching in arid eastern New Mexico; as an elderly lady she was writing in retrospect. Another ranchwoman, Mary Kidder Rak, has given two good accounts of Arizona ranch life: *A Cowman's Wife* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1934. 292 pp.) and *Mountain Cattle* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1936. 275 pp.). In both, Mrs. Rak brought real perception to social and economic conditions and to her comments on the effect of the environment. Samuel W. Cozzens, writing not long after the Civil War, was somewhat more enthusiastic than accurate in his *The Marvelous Country, or Three Years in Arizona and New Mexico. Containing an Authentic History of this Wonderful Country and its Ancient*

Civilization together with a Full and Complete History of the Apache Tribe of Indians (Boston: Lea and Sheppard, 1876. 548 pp. Reprinted 1903). Each of the writers saw slightly different things, through different eyes; but the mass of the comments gives a fairly accurate account.

Two accounts of conditions prior to Mexican independence are worthy of comment. Baron Alexander von Humboldt, a German scientist, made an extensive voyage to the New World in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; his sojourn in Mexico was just at the turn of the century. In his *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (Trans. by John Black, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Arme and Brown, 1822. 4 volumes), he includes some cogent comments on the northern part of Mexico, including the present state of New Mexico in the United States; this material is to be found in Volume III of this particular edition. Zebulon Pike, commissioned by Thomas Jefferson to undertake a trip of observation into the new acquisition after the Louisiana Purchase, found himself in Spanish territory; whether it was by accident or design has never been clearly determined, since Pike reported that it was accidental, even while his account indicates design. At any rate, in his *Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America* (Baltimore: John Binns, Printer, 1810) he left a magnificent description of those portions which he saw; he also made comments, not particularly perceptive, on life in the Spanish provincial capital to which he was escorted by Spanish officials. An even better account, both from the point of descriptive accuracy and perceptive reporting, is Josiah Gregg's classic *Commerce on the Prairies, the Journal of a Santa Fe Trader*, which was first printed in 1844 and is now available in a number of editions. Perhaps the two most convenient are the edition published in Dallas by the Southwest Press in 1933 and that appearing in Volumes 19 and 20 of Ruben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1905-1907. 32 volumes). Thwaites also has numerous other accounts which are not mentioned here. Gregg's later experiences, which he recorded in a diary long mislaid but recently found, are recorded in Maurice Garland Fulton (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg: Excursions in Mexico and California, 1847-1850* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944. 396 pp.); in his *Diary*, Gregg shows the same insight that he demonstrated so well in his *Commerce*.

The period of the Mexican War stimulated further descriptions; in part this resulted from a large influx of people in either

the armed services or in civilian capacities immediately after the occupation, and in part from the new problems faced by Anglo officials confronted with a Spanish culture pattern. One of the most valuable, albeit at times inaccurate, of these commentaries came from the first United States Attorney for the newly acquired territory. William Watts Hart Davis, *El Gringo; or New Mexico and her People* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1857. 432 pp. Republished with an introduction by Harvey Fergusson, Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, 1938. 332 pp.) is only partially concerned with the difficulties of law enforcement; it is also concerned with the mode of life and the mores of society. Susan Shelby Magoffin, the wife of a trader, was one of the numerous individuals who followed the Army in its march into New Mexico; her reactions she preserved in a diary: Stella M. Drumm (ed.), *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. 294 pp.). Other accounts from members or hangers-on of the military expeditions are:

- Emory, Major William H., *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, Missouri, to San Diego, California, including part of the Arkansas, Del Norte and Gila Rivers* (Washington: G.P.O., 1848. 30th Cong., 1st Sess., Exec. Doc. 41. 416 pp.). Emory's "Del Norte" was the Rio Bravo del Norte, or the Rio Grande.
- Falconer, Thomas (Introduction and notes by F. W. Hodge), *Letters and Notes on the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition, 1841-1842* (New York: Dauber and Pine Bookshops, Inc., 1930. 159 pp.). A factual source on the expedition by and large, but with some interesting comments on treatment by the Mexicans.
- Hughes, John Taylor, *Doniphan's Expedition: Containing an Account of the Conquest of New Mexico; General Kearney's Overland Expedition to California; Doniphan's Campaign against the Navajos; His Unparalleled March upon Chihuahua and Durango; and the Operations of General Price at Santa Fe* (Cincinnati: J. A. and U. P. James, 1850. 407 pp.). Comments on the nature of the geography and customs as well as the military campaign.
- James, General Thomas (Walter B. Douglas, ed.), *Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1916. 316 pp.). A reprint of the original edition printed in 1846.
- Kendall, George Wilkins (Introduction by Milo M. Quaife), *Narrative of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition across the Great South-western Prairies, from Texas to Santa Fe* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons, 1929. 585 pp.). Under slightly different titles, and by different editors and publishers, the Kendall account was published in 1844, 1845 (in both the United States and England), 1850, 1856 and 1935. It is a rather detailed account of the hardships suffered

by the members of the expedition; the ill-advised and ill-prepared group was attacked by Indians, was brought to the point of starvation as a result of the loss of their supplies, was captured by the Mexicans, and was forced to march to Mexico City by a route which measured nearly two thousand miles. Kendall's comments on the terrain, the character of the Mexicans, the quality of the Mexican soldiers, and a variety of other subjects has made this work a minor classic. Its publication record indicates its popularity.

But those connected with the military were not the only chroniclers during this period of change and turmoil. Emmanuel Henri Dieudonne Domenech was a French missionary in Texas and northern Mexico at the time. A somewhat more perceptive observer than some of his military opposite numbers, he has left his account in the form of *Journal d'un missionnaire au Texas et au Mexique, 1846-1852* (Paris: Gaume Freres, 1857. 477 pp.). The journal was published in England as *Missionary Adventures in Texas and Mexico: A Personal Narrative of Six Years' Sojourn in These Regions* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858. 366 pp.). Sister Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1948. 298 pp.) gives her account of 21 years in the Santa Fe region as a Sister of Charity, in which capacity she had frequent contact with all three ethnic groups. George F. Ruxton's two works, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1849. 312 pp. London: J. Murray, 1847. 332 pp.) and *Life in the Far West* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849. 235 pp.) are both solid works. And finally, the trials which May Humphreys Stacy and Edward Fitzgerald Beale suffered in the ill-fated experiment with the establishment of a Camel Corps for transportation in the arid region, is presented in Lewis Brent Lesley (ed.), *Uncle Sam's Camels; the Journal of May Humphreys Stacy, supplemented by the Report of Edward Fitzgerald Beale, 1857-1858* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929. 298 pp.).

A slightly different orientation may be found in the accounts written in the latter part of the century, when the observers tended to be either scientists or settlers. Adolph F. A. Bandelier was not only a distinguished scholar; he was a competent observer whose descriptions were preserved in letters. George P. Hammond and Edgar F. Good (eds.), *A Scientist on the Trail: Travel Letters of A. F. Bandelier, 1880-1881* (Berkeley: The Quivira Society, 1949. 142 pp.) gives his comments on both New Mexico and northern

Mexico. The most important single publication, however, is Major John Wesley Powell's *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region* (Washington: Department of Interior, 2nd ed., 1879. 208 pp.). In addition to the magnificent description by an eminent geologist, the work stresses Powell's central thesis that Anglo-American institutions could not function properly within the geographic conditions found in the arid lands. Three special publications dealing with water supplies in the region are useful. General A. W. Greeley and Lt. W. A. Glassford collaborated on a *Report on the Climate of New Mexico, with Particular Reference to the Question of Irrigation and Water Storage in the Arid Region* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891. 59 pp., maps). Twenty years later the New Mexico state engineer, James A. French, submitted a similar study, *Report of the Surface Water Supply of New Mexico, 1911-1912* (Albuquerque: n.p., 1912), and a few years later a similar study for the region to the west was published by the United States Department of Interior, *Surface Water Supply of the United States, 1915: Part IX. Colorado River Basin* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918. 236 pp.). All three reports showed a scarcity of water and a need for conserving available resources. Other accounts worthy of consultation are:

- Langford, J. O. and Fred Gipson, *Big Bend: A Homesteader's Story* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952. 159 pp.). Langford homesteaded in the Big Bend in 1909, and here gives the story of his experiences. He speaks on the terrain, on border raids, on the Spanish-speaking people, and on the economics of the region. He insists that overgrazing of the Big Bend region during and immediately following World War I permanently ruined that picturesque country for cattle production.
- Ringgold, Jennie Parks, *Frontier Days in the Southwest: Pioneer Days in Old Arizona* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1952. 197 pp.). She speaks from her and from her family's experiences after 1879; one of the most interesting chapters concerns the Morenci strike in 1903, in which the vast majority of the miners were Spanish-speaking, while the company officials and the law enforcement authorities called in to break the strike were Anglos.
- Summerhayes, Martha (Milo M. Quaife, ed.), *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of my Army Life* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1939. 337 pp. Other editions: Philadelphia: Press of J. B. Lippincott, 1908. 296 pp. Salem, Mass.: The Salem Press Co., 1911. 319 pp.).
- Thompson, Albert W., *They were the Open Range Days: Annals of a Western Frontier* (Denver: The World Press, Inc., 1946. 193 pp.). Concerning Clayton County, New Mexico.

- Thomas, Robert Horatio (ed.), *Journalists' Letters Descriptive of Texas and Mexico* (Mechanicsburg, Penna., 1889. 149 pp.).
- Hodge, Col. Hiram C., *Arizona as it is: or, The Coming Country, compiled from notes of Travel during the Years 1874, 1875, and 1876* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, or Boston: H. O. Houghton, 1877. 273 pp.). Although having much of the flavor of a real estate promoter's pitch, the work has some good information on military posts, railroads, stage and post routes, Indians, and routes of travel between Arizona and the East.

Of a slightly different character is Douglas D. Martin's *The Tombstone's Epitaph* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951. 272 pp.). Martin, a Pulitzer Prize winner in journalism and at that time the head of the Journalism Department of the University of Arizona, by a judicious selection of items from the files of the newspaper, has written the epitaph of Tombstone.

A third group of contributors to our knowledge of 19th century physical and cultural conditions are the serious writers who have attempted to recreate a picture through words after the original has disappeared. The best of this group is Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University, 1921. 320 pp.). Bolton, the dean of historians of the Southwest, was interested primarily in institutional development; much of his material deals with a period prior to or outside the subject of this guide. E. E. Dale, *Cow Country*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. 265 pp.) is concerned with the western cattle industry; this interest takes him far from the border in some of his material, but the industry began in the border area and still carries the brand of Spanish influence. Harlan D. Fowler, *Camels to California; A Chapter in Western Transportation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950. 93 pp.) gives a more complete story than Lesley's documents on the camel experiment, but the second-hand story has lost much of the original flavor, particularly since it is too succinct to include much detail. Nina Otera, *Old Spain in Our Southwest* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1936. 192 pp.) is an anecdotal account of life in the area, and Carl Coke Rister's *Border Captives* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. 220 pp.) describes raids made by Indian parties for the purposes of taking captives for the tribe; these raids occurred from Durango to Nebraska, with Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Apaches raiding both Indian and non-Indian settlements. C. L. Sonnichsen, in his *Cowboys and Cattle Kings* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 316 pp.) de-

scribes the life and activities of the individuals rather than the function of the industry. Harold J. Matthews, *Candle by Night: The Story of the Life and Times of Kezia Payne de Pelchin, Texas Pioneer Teacher, Social Worker and Nurse* (Boston: B. Humphries, Inc., 1942. 272 pp.) gives a sympathetic and sometimes romantic picture of his subject, but in the process manages to include some excellent material concerning the mode of life among the people to whom his heroine ministered. Other works which include material of value:

- Garrett, Pat, *The Authentic Life of Billy the Kid* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. 156 pp.). The original edition was published in 1882.
- Kubler, George, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and since the American Occupation* (Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum, 1940. 232 pp.). For those interested in the clash of cultures at the architectural level.
- Rister, Carl Coke, *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881: A History of the Coming of the Settlers, Indian Depredations and Massacres, Ranching Activities, Operations of White Desperados and Thieves, Government Protection, Building Railways, and the Disappearance of the Frontier* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1928. 336 pp.). A catch-all, more fully described under History section.
- Sonnichsen, C. L., *Roy Bean: The Law West of the Pecos* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1943. 207 pp.).
- Twitchell, Ralph E., *History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851* (Denver: Smith-Brooks Co., 1909. 394 pp.). In the context of this section on description, it is particularly good for the biographical sketches of many of the principal characters in the era.

In addition to the literature descriptive of the 19th century, there is a considerable bulk of writing referring to more recent and to contemporary conditions. One of the most useful of these publications, although out of date, is William B. Bizzell's *Rural Texas* (New York: Macmillan, 1924. 477 pp. Rural State and Province Series), which is excellent for statistical and descriptive data, but which is woefully weak on the nature of rural society and on effects of growing urbanization upon rural life. In *Our Southwest* (New York and London, Alfred A. Knopf, 1940. 376 pp.), Erna Fergusson demonstrates her usual charm of writing while she describes 17 southwestern cities as well as the more highly visible attributes of the culture such as the dances and the fiestas. George Wharton James, *New Mexico: The Land of the Delight Makers*

(Boston: The Page Co., 1920. 469 pp.) describes and comments on irrigation, education, commerce, and many other aspects of New Mexican life. Charles F. Lummis, *Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo: Our Wonderland of the Southwest* (New York and London: The Century Co., c1925. 517 pp.) is more concerned with detail. The tempo of life in and the physical attributes of Texas' largest city well within the border region is adequately described by Green Peyton Wertenbaker (Pseud. Green Peyton) in *San Antonio: City in the Sun*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1946). He was not so successful in his more ambitious *America's Heartland: The Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. 286 pp.), in which his work suffers from too great a degree of impressionism and exaggeration. Hart Stillwell's *Border City* (New York: Doubleday-Doran, 1945. 276 pp.), pertaining to El Paso, is perhaps the most valuable of these efforts because of the nature of his description and the inferential areas for research. Of a completely different order is John R. Stockton and Stanley A. Arbingast, *Water Requirement Survey: Texas High Plains* (Austin: University of Texas, 1953. 100 pp. mimeo.). A useful work to consult in this realm of water for the border is Ivan Roy Tannehill, *Drought: Its Causes and Effects* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. 264 pp.) although it does not directly deal with the border region. Paul Schuster Taylor's *An American-Mexican Frontier: Nueces County, Texas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934. 337 pp.) is more fully described in the section dealing with prejudice, but it must be mentioned here for the excellent descriptive passages with respect to economic and social conditions. E. J. Wickson, *Rural California* (New York: Macmillan, 1923. 399 pp.), another of the Rural States and Province Series, has the same strengths and weaknesses as Bizzell's counterpart on Texas. Finally, the group of state guides compiled under the various Writer's Projects of the W.P.A. include excellent material. Differing only slightly in format and value, all were published by Hastings House in the late 1930's or early 1940's; each has sections on the major cities, on the history of the state, and on possible tours of interest to visitors. Other books in the general category of contemporary description are:

Chambers, William T., *Texas: Its Land and People* (Austin: Steck Co., 1952. 264 pp.).

Dorroh, John H., Jr., *Certain Hydrologic and Climatic Characteristics of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,

1946. 64 pp.). A good, concise account of rainfall and some other elements of climate.

- Fergusson, Harvey, *Rio Grande* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf and Co., 1933. 296 pp.). Impressionistic, unscientific and designed for the general reader though it is, there are some valuable data.
- Long, Haniel, *Piñon Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1941. 327 pp.). Part of the American Folkway series under the general editorship of Erskine Caldwell, the book virtually ignores the scholarly writing in the field.
- Richardson, Rupert Norval and Carl Coke Rister, *The Greater Southwest* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1934. 506 pp.).
- Slocum, George Mertz, *Where Tex Meets Mex; A Report of Recent Ramblings on Both Sides of the Rio Grande* (Mt. Clemens, Michigan: Rural Publishing Co., 1927. 99 pp.). Lightweight, with only a small part dealing with the border.
- Staff, The University of Texas, *The Resources of Texas* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1944. 365 pp.). A rather thorough inventory.
- Stubbs, Stanley A., *Bird's-Eye View of the Pueblos* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 122 pp.). A convenient compilation of data pertinent to the regions in which the Pueblos had lived and were then living.
- Johnson, Elmer, *The Natural Regions of Texas* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1931. 148 pp. Bureau of Business Research, Research Monograph no. 8).

Books of secondary value for the topic under discussion are listed below with a minimum of commentary:

- Abernathy, John R., *Catch 'Em Alive Jack: The Life and Adventure of An American Pioneer* (New York: Association Press, 1936. 224 pp.).
- Bailey, Vernon, *Mammals of New Mexico* (Washington: G.P.O., 1936. 412 pp.).
- Bishop, William Henry, *Mexico, California and Arizona; Being a New and Revised Edition of Old Mexico and Her Lost Provinces* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1889. 569 pp.).
- Briggs, Lloyd Vernon, *Arizona and New Mexico, 1882, California 1886, New Mexico 1891* (Boston: Private Printing, 1932. 282 pp.). Travel account.
- Carter, George F., *Plant Geography and Culture History in the American Southwest* (New York: Viking Fund, 1945. 140 pp. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 5). Concerns evidence of culture history among the Southwest Indians as shown by some of the staple plants, cultivated both before the coming of the Spaniards and at present.
- Cook, John R., (Milo M. Quaife, ed.), *The Border and the Buffalo: An*

- Untold Story of the Southwest Plains* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons, 1938. 481 pp.). First published in 1907.
- Cooke, Philip St. George, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California: An Historical and Personal Narrative* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878. 307 pp.).
- Curtis, Albert, *Fabulous San Antonio* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1955. 298 pp.).
- DaCamara, Kathleen, *Laredo on the Rio Grande* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1949. 85 pp.).
- Dobie, J. Frank, *A Vaquero in the Brush Country, Partly from the Reminiscences of John Young* (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1929. 314 pp.). Life in Colorado in the late 19th century.
- Duffus, Robert Luther, *The Santa Fe Trail* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930. 283 pp.).
- Greever, William S., *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railroad and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954. 184 pp.).
- Inman, Colonel Henry, *The Old Santa Fe Trail: The Story of a Great Highway* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1897. 493 pp. Also published by Crane and Co. of Topeka, Kansas in 1899 and 1916).
- James, Vinton Lee, *Frontier and Pioneer Recollections of Early Days in San Antonio and West Texas* (San Antonio, Privately printed through Artes Graficas Press, 1938. 210 pp.).
- Lott, Virgil N. and Mercurio Martinez, *The Kingdom of Zapata* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1953. 254 pp.).
- Madison, Virginia, *The Big Bend Country of Texas* (Mentioned under informal diplomacy).
- Reid, John C., *Reid's Tramp; Or: A Journal of the Incidents of Ten Months Travel through Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora, and California, including Topography, Climate, Soil, Minerals, Metals, and Inhabitants; with a Notice of the Great InterOceanic Railroad* (Austin: The Steck Co., 1935. 245 pp. Original edition, Selma, Ala.: Printed at the office of John Hardy & Co., 1858).
- Ruxton, George F. (Horace Kephart, ed.), *Wild Life in the Rocky Mountains: A True Tale of Rough Adventure in the Days of the Mexican War* (New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1916. 303 pp.).
- Stambaugh, J. Lee and Lillian J. Stambaugh, *The Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1954. 344 pp.).
- Taylor, Rosemary, *Ridin' the Rainbow: Father's Life in Tucson* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1944. 271 pp.).
- Territory of New Mexico, *New Mexico: Its Resources, Climate, Geography and Geological Condition* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1890).
- Wise, Lieut. Henry Augustus, *Los Gringos; or, An Inside View of*

Mexico and California (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850. 453 pp.).

Articles in Journals

Readily available and useful descriptive articles in journals are somewhat scarce. The most valuable is a long series of articles, in total pages equal to a big book, appearing in the *New Mexico Historical Review* over a six year period. Lansing B. Bloom, "Bourke on the Southwest," *NMHR* 8 (1933): 1-30; 9 (1934): 33-78, 159-183, 273-290, 375-436; 10 (1935): 1-36, 271-322; 11 (1936): 77-122, 188-207, 217-282; 12 (1937): 41-77, 337-379; 13 (1938): 192-238, is an editing of John Gregory Bourke's notebooks which he kept on his extensive travels through the Southwest over a period of years. The first of the series of articles gives a short biographical sketch and a list of Bourke's writings; the remainder of the articles come from Bourke's notebooks. He was a shrewd observer with catholic interests. Lansing Bloom also edited the observations of a Mexican in New Mexico in 1831; Lansing B. Bloom, "Barreiro's *Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico*," *NMHR* 3 (1928): 73-96, 145-178, contains a short comment on Antonio Barreiro, sent to New Mexico as a legal advisor in 1831 in order to establish a court in the region, as well as the *Ojeada* itself. This "glance" is virtually the only description of the region coming from a Mexican official during the Mexican period. John P. Clum, founder of the Tombstone *Epitaph*, San Carlos Indian agent, and general critic of United States policy in the West, has left us "Santa Fe in the '70's," *NMHR* 2 (1927): 380-386, while Charles Peabody, "Reconnaissance Trip in West Texas," *AA New Series* 11 (1909): 202-216, left a good essay on the nature of the country while he was describing the search for archeological material. On January 15, 1881, the *San Francisco Stockman* published a long article by Joseph Wasson; the article was reprinted as "The Southwest in 1880," *NMHR* 5 (1930): 263-287. Other articles of some use follow:

Anderson, Lillie Gerhardt, "A New Mexico Pioneer of the 1880's," *NMHR* 29 (1954): 245-258.

Bender, A. B., "Government Explorations in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1859," *NMHR* 9 (1934): 1-32.

Chambers, William, "The Western Mountains and Basin Section of Texas," *SWSSQ* 19 (1938-39): 354-361.

Hastings, James K., "A Boy's Eyevue of the old Southwest," *NMHR* 26 (1951): 287-301.

La Tourette, Genevieve, "Fort Union Memories," *NMHR* 26 (1951):

- 277-286. The daughter of the fort chaplain and the wife of another officer on the post wrote these memories about 1930.
- Laumbach, Verna, "Las Vegas before 1850," *NMHR* 8 (1933): 241-264.
- McAllister, Dan, "Old Settlers In Otero County," *NMHR* 26 (1951): 128-136.
- Parsons, E. C., "Notes on Isleta, Santa Ana and Acoma," *AA* 22 (1920): 56-69. Description by a competent anthropologist.
- Perrigo, Lynn I., "New Mexico in the Mexican Period, as revealed by the Torres Documents," *NMHR* 29 (1954): 28-40.
- Simpich, Frederick, "Along our Side of the Mexican Border," *Nat Geog* 38 (1920): 61-80. Simpich had earlier been an American consul at Nogales and other border Mexican cities.
- Tressman, Ruth, "Home on the Range," *NMHR* 26 (1951): 1-17.
- Waggoner, J. J., "The Gadsden Purchase Lands," *NMHR* 26 (1951): 18-43.

THE MEXICAN SIDE OF THE BORDER

Books and Monographs

As is to be expected in view of the introductory statement of this section, the Mexican side of the border has not been as frequently the subject of descriptive writing, particularly in the past century, as has the region to the north. On the other hand, the casual-observer description has been supplemented with occasional bits of serious and often penetrating writing; the first type has generally come from the pens of United States citizens and other foreigners, while the second has generally been the results of Mexican scholarship. Together they make a fairly satisfactory whole.

Some general works covering the entire nation, including the border region, should be mentioned at the outset. Antonio García Cubas, Mexico's most distinguished 19th century geographer, wrote three books which are valuable in the present context. The first was *Memoria para servir la carta general de la República Mexicana* (Mexico: Imprenta de Andrade y Escalante, 1861. 166 pp.) and consists principally of a listing of all the places shown on the new map, with an indication of the population of each of the communities listed. A comparison between the data given by García Cubas with that given much more recently by Julio Riquelme Inda, *Monografías geográficas sintéticas* (Mexico: Confederación de Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio, 1946. 424 pp.) indicates some startling changes among the municipalities of the border region. García Cubas' second major work was published in both Spanish and English, the latter version as *The Republic of*

Mexico (Mexico: La Enseñanza Printing Office, 1876. 130 pp.), a concise review of the major geographic features of the nation. Nine years later he published the much more comprehensive *Cuadro geográfico, estadístico, descriptivo é histórico de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (Mexico: Oficina Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1885. 474 pp.), in which he describes the major physical features as well as the most important economic activities and some aspects of culture change.

The most thorough recent treatment of Mexican physical geography is Jorge L. Tamayo's two-volume *Geografía general de México: Geografía física* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficas de la Nación, 1949), which includes also a good chapter on the development of Mexican cartography. The arrangement, by subject rather than by region, makes the work somewhat difficult to use for the border states. Jorge Vivó's more modest *Geografía de México* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1948. 304 pp.) is particularly useful in the definition and description of natural and cultural regions. Both Tamayo and Vivó have a multitude of excellent maps. *Geografía de México* (Barcelona and Buenos Aires: El Labor, 1930. 223 pp.), by Jesús Galindo y Villa, is inferior to both the above items.

A convenient and valuable source for regional treatment is Ricardo L. Villarreal (ed.), *Regiones económicas agrícolas de la República Mexicana: Memorias descriptivas* (Tacubaya, D. F.: Talleres de la Oficina de Publicaciones y Propaganda, 1936. 802 pp.), which contains a vast amount of economic information which is, unfortunately, both somewhat outdated and occasionally of questionable accuracy. A much smaller work of greater accuracy dealing with a specific topic is Antonio Rodríguez L., *El desarrollo y operación de los sistemas de riego en México* (Mexico: Departamento de Información técnica de la Comisión Nacional de Irrigación, 1942. 43 pp.), which is a concise summary of the drainage districts in Mexico; the information was also summarized in *Irrigación en México* 23 (1942): 93-94. Frederick Albion Ober, *Travels in Mexico and Life Among the Mexicans* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1884. 672 pp.), contains some relevant data in part three, and Julius Fröbel, *Seven Years' Travel in Central America, Northern Mexico, and the Far West of the United States* (London: R. Bentley, 1859. 587 pp.) touches on the border states. *La charrería mexicana* (Mexico: 1950. 130 pp.) is primarily devoted to the life of the Mexican cowboy, but some interesting description of his environment is also included.

One of the most valuable publications, inasmuch as it is designed to prove the uniqueness of northeast Mexico, is Nettie Lee Benson's translation and edition of Miguel Ramos Arizpe, *Report that Dr. Miguel Ramos de Arizpe, Priest of Bourbon, and Deputy in the Recent General and Special Cortes of Spain for the Province of Coahuila, one of the Four Eastern Interior Provinces of the Kingdom of Mexico, Presents to the August Congress on the Natural, Political and Civil Condition of the Provinces of Coahuila, Nuevo León, Nuevo Santander, and Texas of the Four Eastern Interior Provinces of the Kingdom of Mexico* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1950. 61 pp.). Ramos Arizpe was attempting to convince the Cortes that special consideration should be given, in the form of government and its relations to the remainder of Mexico, to the region he represented. In order to make his plea more effective, he emphasized the uniqueness of the area.

Santiago Roel (ed.), *Correspondencia particular de D. Santiago Vidaurri, Gobernador de Nuevo León, 1855-1864* (Monterrey: Imp. Monterrey, 1946. 262 pp.) is more useful for the history of the area than for its geography, but some valuable material of a descriptive nature may be extracted after a thorough search. Carlos Pérez Maldonado, *La ciudad metropolitana de Nuestra Señora de Monterrey* (Monterrey: Imp. Monterrey, 1946. 344 pp.) written in honor of the 350th anniversary of the founding of the Nuevo León capital, gives a detailed description of some parts of the community. Timoteo L. Hernández, *Geografía del Estado de Nuevo León* (Monterrey: 1943. 90 pp.) has an advantage in its relative recency and serves as a guide to data which might be found through more intensive searching, but it is too general to be of outstanding utility. One group of Chihuahua mines is discussed in Victor S. Rocha and Ivan F. Wilson, *Los yacimientos de manganeso de Talamantes, municipio de Allende, Estado de Chihuahua* (Mexico: Comité Directiva para la Investigación de los recursos Minerales de México, 1948. 39 pp.); with accompanying topographic and geologic maps, seven of the most important mines, all small, are covered. Santiago Roel's *Nuevo León: Apuntes históricos* (Monterrey: Imp. Monterrey, 1938. 2 vols.), includes descriptive as well as historical material. Other works from which material may be obtained concerning the northeastern states are:

Alessio Robles, Miguel, *La Ciudad de Saltillo* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1932. 109 pp.).

Alessio Robles, Miguel, *Perfiles del Saltillo* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1933. 139 pp.). *Perfiles* is essentially the same as the earlier

book cited above, but it was written immediately after Alessio Robles had made an intervening trip to Saltillo; some of the inaccuracies and misconceptions of the first were corrected in the second.

- Argüelles, Adalberto J., *Reseña del Estado de Tamaulipas* (C. Victoria: Oficina Tipográfica del Gobierno del Estado, 1910. 322 pp.). An "official" history, compiled by a kinsman of a previous governor; highly optimistic and laudatory, and therefore of limited value.
- Bray, Lillian A., *Hands Across the Border; A Brief Story of Mexico, Her People and Her Chief Attractions for Visitors from the United States, and Elsewhere, Who Wish to See and Understand this Foreign Land that Shares Our Shores of Two Oceans*. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1941. 239 pp.). Light travel, with good description of the route from Laredo to Mexico City.
- Chihuahua, State of, *Anuario estadístico del estado de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1906, 1908). Two volumes of somewhat questionable statistics.
- Chihuahua, State of, *División territorial del Estado de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1909. 75 pp.). A listing, alphabetical by districts, of all the populated places in the state, with each such place designated as city, villa, pueblo, hacienda, rancho, ranchería, congregación, or estación.
- Dobie, F. Frank, *Tongues of the Monte* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1935. 301 pp.) and *The Mexico I Like* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1942. 301 pp.). The second is a reprint of the first with a change in title. These are tales told by cattlemen and herdsmen of Coahuila, Nuevo León and Zacatecas; they were gathered by Dobie on an extensive horseback trip. Interweaving the tales is a good description of the physical environment.
- Espejo, José A., *Geografía de Chihuahua* (Mexico: Editorial "El Nacional," 1951). A school text which is a convenient reference for many types of geographical data.
- García Conde, Pedro, *Ensayo estadístico sobre el Estado de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Imprenta del Gobierno a Cargo de C. Ramos, 1842. 98 pp.).
- Gibson, George Rutledge (Ralph P. Bieber, ed.) *Journal of a Soldier under Kearney and Doniphan, 1846-1847* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935. 371 pp.). A well-annotated and edited account of the physical conditions which the expedition encountered.
- Hernández, Timoteo L., *Relación histórica sobre el origen de las cabeceras municipales del Estado de Nuevo León* (Monterrey: n.p., 1942. 68 pp.). A companion piece to his *Geografía*, published the following year, giving data on seats of municipal government.

- Liga de Agrónomos Socialistas, *El colectivismo agrario en México. La comarca lagunera* (Mexico: Liga de Agrónomos Socialistas, 1940. 549 pp.). Historical and descriptive of agriculture and irrigation in the region. As is to be expected, it is a biased version.
- Mexico: Departamento de la Estadística Nacional, *Población del Nuevo León desde 1603 hasta 1921* (Mexico: Departamento de la Estadística Nacional, 1929. 34 pp.). A convenient summary.
- Ponce de León, José María, *Chihuahua y sus distritos, datos geográficos y estadísticos del Estado de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Imp. de S. Alarcón, 1909. 128 pp.).
- Portillo, Esteban L., *Catecismo geográfico, político é histórico del Estado de Coahuila y Zaragoza* (Second edition. Saltillo: Tip. del Gobierno en Palacio, 1897. 215 pp.). A textbook, convenient but somewhat erroneous.
- Prieto, Alejandro, *Historia, geografía y estadística del Estado de Tamaulipas* (Mexico: Tip. Escalerillas, 1873. 361 pp.). The first 227 pages are devoted to history, with only thirteen of these pages concerning the period after independence. The remaining 134 pages contain geographical and statistical materials.
- Prieto Quimper, Salvador, *El Parral de mis recuerdos. Datos sobre la biografía de una noble ciudad de provincia* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1948. 304 pp.). Written in a romantic and almost mellow mood, it contains some good description of Parral in the early 20th century.
- Saldaña, José P., *Casos y cosas de Monterrey* (Monterrey: Impresora Monterrey, 1945. 226 pp.). A quite good gossip description of places and things.
- Sánchez, Alberto, *Monografía del municipio de Marín* (Monterrey: 1943). A small community in Nuevo León.

The western Mexican border states have received more attention than have the northeastern, probably because of the more varied geographic and cultural conditions; from the early part of the 16th century that section of Mexico, particularly Sonora, engendered considerable interest. Two accounts from the 18th century are included here because much of the description is applicable to the 19th century and because there is a dearth of material from the middle of the latter period.

Ignaz Pfefferkorn was a Jesuit missionary in the Sonora region before he was expelled along with all other Jesuits in 1767. Scholar as well as missionary, Pfefferkorn took great pains to observe and record all he could concerning the physical and cultural characteristics of the region in which he was active; the latest edition of his observations, translated and edited by Theodore E. Treutlein, is *Sonora: A Description of the Province* (Albuquerque: University

of New Mexico Press, 1949. 329 pp.). A few years later a young officer dispatched to give military aid and protection to Father Eusebio Kino and other missionaries also took pains to record what he saw. Juan Mateo Manje was not as erudite as was Pfefferkorn, but his descriptions are sharp and graphic. Harry J. Karns and his associates have translated and edited one of the extant manuscript versions: *Unknown Arizona and Sonora: From the Francisco Fernández del Castillo Version of Luz de Tierra Incógnita* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954. 303 pp.).

From the middle of the 19th century come some fairly accurate descriptions of existing conditions, at which time the northwest was very sparsely populated but was of considerable interest to the central government. The first attempt to describe the region came as a result of army interest; José Agustín de Escudero's *Noticias estadísticas de Sonora y Sinaloa, compilados y amplificados para la Comisión de Estadística Militar* (Mexico: Tipografía de R. Rafael, 1849. 146 pp.), is a fairly good survey of conditions. A more ambitious and more useful publication appeared the following year; José Francisco Velasco, *Noticias estadísticas del Estado de Sonora* (Mexico: Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido, 1850. 350 pp.), contains chapters on topography, extent, government, church, population, presidios, mining activities, and Indian groups. This work was abridged and translated by William F. Nye under title *Sonora: Its Extent, Population, Natural Productions, Indian Tribes, Mines, Mineral Lands, Etc., Etc.* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft Company, 1861. 190 pp.). During the same general period two citizens of the United States recorded their impressions of the region. Marvin Wheat, writing under the pseudonym of Cincinnatus, reported his *Travel on the Western Slopes of the Mexican Cordillera in the Form of Fifty-One Letters* (San Francisco: Whitton, Towne and Co., 1857. 438 pp.), and a few years later Sylvester Mowry, in *Arizona and Sonora: The Geography, History, and Resources of the Silver Region of North America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1864. 251 pp.) undertook an ambitious project which he did not complete successfully.

Toward the end of the 19th century F. T. Dávila published his *Sonora histórico y descriptivo. Reseña histórica de los sucesos mas importantes acaecidos en Sonora desde la llegada de los Españoles hasta nuestras días, y una descripción de sus terrenos de agricultura y pasturaje, su minería y cría de ganado, sus bosques, ríos, montañas y valles, sus ciudades, pueblos, clima, etc.* (Nogales, Arizona: Tipografía de R. Bernal, 1894. 328 pp.), the first 136

pages of which sketch historical developments. At roughly the same time the government of the state of Sonora commissioned John R. Southworth to do a study of the state; the result was *El Estado de Sonora: Sus industrias comerciales, mineras y manufacturas* (Nogales, Arizona: The Oasis Printing and Publishing House, 1897. 94 pp.). A frankly propagandistic work (under similar commissions he published studies on Baja California and Sinaloa) designed to attract U. S. enterprise, the book is published in English and Spanish in parallel columns.

The most highly integrated, and in many ways the most useful, study pertaining to the region is Godfrey G. Sykes, *The Colorado Delta* (Washington: American Geographical Society and Carnegie Institution, 1937. 193 pp.). Actually accomplishing what Mowry set out to do nearly seventy-five years earlier, Sykes brings sound scholarship and imagination to the problem of describing a natural area which encompasses parts of both United States and Mexican territory. The physiographic history of the area, in terms of ten-year intervals, is outlined, the physical characteristics of the delta are given, and the vegetation is described and analyzed in some detail. The conceptual framework and the organization design could well be emulated by others. W. V. Turnage and T. D. Mallery, *An Analysis of the Rainfall in the Sonoran Desert and Adjacent Territory* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1941. 29 pp.) accomplishes the same result on a much more limited subject. Based upon data from 87 stations in Sonora, Arizona and California, the short monograph is an excellent analysis of rainfall patterns. Two rainy seasons are well-defined, but the summer and winter seasons are not geographically exclusive or coextensive. Other works to consult:

- Almada, Francisco R., *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía sonorenses* (Chihuahua (?), n.p., [1952]. 860 pp.). Covering material up to about 1950, this extensive work is a very convenient reference of considerable merit.
- Bell, P. L. and H. B. MacKenzie, *Mexican West Coast; A Commercial and Industrial Survey* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923). A Department of Commerce sponsored survey, this publication includes Sonora along with the other west coast entities.
- Lumholts, Karl, *Unknown Mexico: A Record of 5 Years' Exploration among the Tribes of the Western Sierra Madre; in the Tierra Caliente, Tepic and Jalisco; and among the Tarascos of Michoacán* (New York: Scribner's, 1902. 2 vols.). As the title indicates, the work is only partially applicable to Sonora.

- Mendizábal, Miguel O., *La evolución del noroeste de México* (Mexico: [Departamento de la Estadística Nacional], 1930. 140 pp.). This volume, serving as a prologue to the next entry, covers only the pre-Hispanic and colonial period.
- Mexico: Departamento de la Estadística Nacional, *Sonora, Sinaloa y Nayarit. Estudio estadístico y económico social elaborado por el Departamento de la Estadística Nacional. Año de 1927.* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1928. 498 pp.). A useful volume.
- Mexico: Dirección General de Estudios Económicos, *Proyecto de programa del Estado de Sonora* (Mexico: Revista de Economía, 1957. 286 pp.). A thorough analysis of conditions existing in 1957, with a variety of statistical tables, and with an exposition of plans for the future economic growth of the state.
- Pérez Hernández, José María, *Compendio de la geografía del Estado de Sonora* (Mexico: Tip. del Comercio, 1872. 142 pp.). Although a textbook and therefore not particularly penetrating, the work does contain some useful data; among these are the names of all populated places—including haciendas and congregaciones—the location of fifty-three of the most important cities, and the founding dates of twenty-one places established in the 17th century.

Considering its economic importance and its geographic position, Baja California has had more than its share of pertinent literature. For our purposes, the earliest of these publications is Ulises Urbano Lassépos, *De la colonización de la Baja California y Decreto de 10 de marzo de 1857* (Mexico: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1859. 249 pp.), in which he discusses not only the laws and decrees relative to colonization, but also gives a good, but somewhat overly-optimistic, picture of the peninsula. Detailed knowledge of the region did not come until 1912, when a special commission undertook to make a thorough study of the northern part of the territory. The Mexican Secretaría de Fomento, Colonización y Industria published the rather lengthy report under title *Memoria de la Comisión del Instituto Geológico de México que exploró la región norte de la Baja California* (Mexico: Imprenta y fototipia de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1913. 445 pp.). Probably the most useful book, although outdated, is Edward William Nelson, *Lower California and its Natural Resources* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921. 194 pp. Memoirs of the National Academy of Science, Volume XVI. First Memoir); it is concise and well organized. Max Miller, *Land Where Time Stands Still.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1943. 236 pp.) is a very readable and somewhat impressionistic work, but his keen eye and fine sense of the relative values of what he saw make the work of

more than passing interest. Ralph Hancock's *Baja California: Hunting, Fishing and Travel in Lower California, Mexico* (Los Angeles: Academy Publishers, 1953.) is a well-done travelogue with good description, but is not as valuable as Miller's work.

Other works to consult are:

Caster, Emile, *Mexique et Californie, souvenirs et description* (Paris: Imp. de E. Plom et Comp., 1886).

Combiér, Cyprien, *Voyage au Golfe du Californie. Grandes courants de la mer, courants généraux atmosphériques, usages de la vie maritime, tempêtes vers le pôle austral, poissons et oiseaux de la mer, description de la Sonora et de ses riches minérales, de la Basse Californie, ses volcans, ses produits, pêche des perles, le chaîne des cordillères, ses forêts.* (Paris: A Bertrand, 1864. 544 pp.). A good description and a useful book.

Diguet, Leon, *Territorio de la Baja California. Reseña geográfica y estadística* (Paris, Mexico: Libr. de Ch. Bouret, 1912. 40 pp.).

Fries, Carl, Jr. and Eduardo Schmitter, *Scheelite Deposits in the Northern Part of the Sierra de Juarez, Northern Territory, Lower California, Mexico* (Washington: U. S. Geological Survey, 1945. 101 pp. USGS Bulletin 946-C.) A description of tungsten mining and reserves, with particular emphasis on El Fenómino mine.

North, Arthur Walbridge, *The Mother of California: Being a Historical Sketch of the Little Known Land of Baja California, from the Days of Cortez to the Present Time. Depicting the Ancient Missions Therein Established, the Mines There Found, and the Physical, Social and Political Aspects of the Country; Together with an Extensive Bibliography Relative to the Same* (San Francisco and New York: P. Elder, 1908. 169 pp.). North designates Baja California as the "mother" of California since many material items were taken from Baja California to supply the settlements in California.

North, Arthur Walbridge, *Camp and Camino in Lower California: A Record of the Adventure of the Author while Exploring Peninsular California* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1910. 346 pp.). A more substantial piece than the foregoing by the same author.

Ryan, William Redmond, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California, in 1848-1849* (London: W. Shoberl, 1950).

Southworth, John R., *El territorio de Baja California, México: su agricultura, comercio, minería é industrias* (San Francisco: Press of the Hicks-Judd Co., 1899. 88 pp.). Much like his *Estado de Sonora*, and done under similar auspices.

Vivanco, Aurelio de, *Baja California al Día. Lower California up to Date* ([?]. [?], [1924]. 579 pp.). Spanish and English in parallel columns, overly enthusiastic.

Among those books already cited, as having material for the area north of the international boundary, the following also include descriptions of the Mexican part of the border region; they are given here in abbreviated form and without full bibliographical information or comment:

- Bishop, W. H., *Mexico, California and Arizona*.
Domenech, E. H. D., *Missionary Adventures in Texas and Mexico*.
Fulton, Maurice G. (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg*.
Hammond, George P. and Edgar F. Good, (eds.), *A Scientist on the Trail*.
Pattie, James O., *Pattie's Personal Narrative*.
Reid, John C., *Reid's Tramp*.
Ruxton, George F. A., *Adventures in Mexico*.
Sloum, George M., *Where Tex Meets Mex*.
Thomas, Robert H. (ed.), *Journalists' Letters*.
Tompkins, Col. Frank, *Chasing Villa*.
Toulmin, H. A., *With Pershing in Mexico*.
Wise, Lt. Henry A., *Los Gringos*.

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

Only a few theses of any real value for this study have been found. One of the most useful is David Martell Vigness, *The Republic of the Rio Grande: An Example of Separatism in Northern Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1951) which, as the title indicates, has a historical orientation. Vigness makes the point that one of the bases for the separatist movement was the conviction on the part of the separatists that the history and culture of the Seno Mexicano were distinct from the remainder of Mexico, and therefore that the region should form a government of its own. Special aspects of special topics are treated in Maurice H. Foster, *History of Mormon Settlement in Mexico and New Mexico* (Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1937) and Dempster Dirks, *Selected Social and Cultural Characteristics of La Paz, Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1955). Donald Brand, *The Historical Geography of Northwestern Chihuahua* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1954) gives good coverage in an area somewhat neglected by publications.

Articles in Journals

Journal articles concerning the Mexican side of the border are numerous and, generally, of a high quality. Among the articles dealing with all of Mexico, but with particular importance to the border, one of the best is Jorge L. Tamayo, "Importancia de la

hidrología y necesidad de fomentar sus estudios," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 55 (1941): 7-36. Tamayo, one of Mexico's most distinguished geographers, is concerned with the maximum utilization of scarce water supplies throughout the nation; the semi-arid region of the border is of major importance in the discussion. Adolfo Oribe Alba, "Water for the Thirsty Lands of Mexico," *For Com W* 11 #10 (June¹⁵, 1943): 6-7, 34, treats of the same subject in a more casual manner. A completely different subject is covered in Lewis B. Kellum, "Geologic History of Northern Mexico and Its Bearing on Petroleum Exploration," *Bull AAPG* 28 (1944): 310-325, which discusses the possibility of the existence of major undiscovered oil deposits in northeast Mexico. Other articles of interest:

- Dicken, Samuel N., "Cotton Regions of Mexico," *Econ Geog* 14 (1938): 25.
Saunders, E. M., "The Natural Regions of Mexico," *Geog Rev* 11 (1921): 212-226.
Sauer, Carl O., "The Personality of Mexico," *Geog Rev.* 31 (1941): 353-364.
Sterling, Henry S., "The Changing Face of Rural Mexico," *Geog Rev* 39 (1949): 139-143.

Tamaulipas has had some attention, but generally the state has been as neglected in the journals as it has in the monographs. Luis Margain Talavera, "Obras en el Valle del Bajo Rio Bravo," *Bol Insp Fiscal* #62 (1941): 38-43; #65 (1941): 24-35; #67 (1941): 30-42; #72 (1941): 26-29, presents a continuing description of the events in northeastern Tamaulipas, in the Matamoros section, with respect to irrigation development; the reports are optimistic and indicate that a major resettlement program is feasible. Another Tamaulipas region is also the subject of an irrigation study; Alfonso Ochoa Velázquez, "Estudio agrológico de gran visión del proyecto de riego de La Laguna, Tula, Tamps., 1948," *Ing Hid* 2 (1948): 68-70, describes in succinct form the hydrography, soils, communications, population, land tenure system and distribution of water in the area. Luis González Treviño, "Indices de geografía económica y social del Estado de Tamaulipas," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 59 (1944): 315-342, gives a general survey of the economic and social geography of the state, and Kathryn H. Wylie describes the climate, soils, and methods of production and packaging for vegetables in parts of both Tamaulipas and Nuevo León in her "Vegetable Production along the Pan-American

Highway in Mexico," *ForAgri* 10 (1946): 181-184. Basil M. Bensen, "Agroecological Exploration in the Soto La Marina Region, Mexico," *Geog Rev* 25 (1934-1935): 285-297, is a systematic survey of the coastal region, preparatory to the possibility of establishment of a new settlement.

The neighboring state of Nuevo León has been by-passed to the same extent as has Tamaulipas. The physical background and land utilization patterns of a village of about 1600 persons is described by Samuel N. Dicken, "Galeana: A Mexican Highland Community," *Journ Geog* 34 (1935): 140-147, and some geologic aspects of both Nuevo León and its neighbor Coahuila are discussed at length by Federico K. G. Müllerried, "Exploraciones geológicas en el centro de la region oriental del Estado de Coahuila y en las porciones limítrofes del de Nuevo León," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 65 (1948): 5-118. A rather lengthy article by Ismael Cavazos Garza, "Nuevo León: la historia y sus instrumentos," *Historia Mexicana* 1 (January-March, 1952): 494-515, contains a good discussion of the research resources available for a study of the social history of the state.

Coahuila fares only slightly better. Müllerried has given his attention to another geologic aspect of the state in "Actividad volcánica bastante reciente del oriente del Estado de Coahuila, México," *Rev Geog del Inst PAGH* 1 (1941): 183-201. Mining in general is the subject of F. Oliván Palacín's short "Estudio minero sobre el Estado de Coahuila," *Rev Min Pet* 16, #197 (Feb.-Mar. 1950): 42-47; the subject warrants much fuller study. The Laguna district in the southern part of the state is discussed in three articles; Lorene A. Garlock's two pieces, "Development of the Laguna Region," *Econ Geog* 20 (1944): 221-227 and "Agricultural Economy in the Laguna Region," *Econ Geog* 20 (1944): 293-304, in which the change in land use from the large holdings to the co-operative ejidos, as well as physical conditions are discussed, and Francisco I. Pasquel, "Distribución y clasificación de las aguas del subsuelo de la Camarca Lagunera," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 73 (1952): 125, in which groundwater is described.

Chihuahua has had only slightly more attention than the north-east states. The most important of the articles are:

- García Conde, Pedro, "Ensayo Estadístico sobre El Estado de Chihuahua," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad a época* 4 (1854): 166-167.
Irigoyen, Ulises, "Viaje a la Sierra Madre Occidental de Chihuahua, Sinaloa y Sonora. Ruta del F. C. Kansas City-México Oriente," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 58 (1943): 57-102.

- Ponce de León, José M., "Datos Geográficos Estadísticos del Estado de Chihuahua," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 5a época 2 (1907): 171-182, 318-326, 390-400, 441-473, 481-493.
- Potts, Juan, "Chihuahua. Apuntes descriptivos de ese Estado," *Bol Soc Geo Estad*, 3a época 4 (1872): 279-283.
- Vega, J., "La raza tarahumara y el medio geográfico y social en que vive," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 58 (1943): 103-121.

The Mexican west coast has received the most adequate coverage, but even here there are major gaps. Inasmuch as water is of vital importance to the area, it should not be surprising that at least some of the literature deals with the topic; it is surprising, however, that there is such a dearth of high-caliber material. Aurelio Benassini gives a very optimistic view of the future of agriculture in his "Potencialidad agrícola de la region costera de los Estados de Sonora y Sinaloa," *Irr Mex* 23 (1942): 89-103, and R. Ruge foresaw the possibility of irrigating approximately 360,000 acres of land in his "Proyectos de irrigación y posibilidades agrícolas en la cuenca de Rio de Sinaloa, Sin.," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 65 (1948): 119-139; he includes details of hydrology and precipitation. An excellent rather short geographic study of Sonora is found in "Descripción de Sonora," *Bol Soc Mex Geo Estad* 61 (1946): 11-35, by Juan de Dios Bojórquez, and Forest Shreve, "Plant Life of the Sonora Desert," *Sci M* 42 (1936): 195-214, is a fine descriptive analysis of the botanical attributes of the desert; the botanical information is interpreted against a background of the concepts of what constitutes a desert, and the history, limitations, characteristics, and distributions of such arid regions. A companion piece to Dicken's "Galeana" is Leslie Hewes, "Huepac: An Agricultural Village of Sonora, Mexico," *Econ Geog* 11 (1935): 284-292, in which the community is a village of about 700 mestizos; comparison of the two studies is useful. George F. Deasy and Peter Gerhard examine the shifting areas of population concentration in Baja California over a period of more than 150 years, these shifts coming as a result of differing types of economic activity, in "Settlements in Baja California: 1768-1930," *Geog Rev* 34 (1944): 574-586.

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CHAPTER IV

THE SPANISH-SPEAKING POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Books and Monographs

The contiguity of two distinct cultures will give an international boundary some unique characteristics, and as a consequence the United States-Mexican border could be expected to demonstrate distinctive patterns. But added to the contiguity has been the absorption by the United States of large segments of territory once Mexican, with a heavy Mexican population remaining in the annexed lands as a minority group. A combination of factors—including the existence of the annexed Spanish-speaking population, differentials in economic opportunity on opposite sides of the international boundary, political unrest in Mexico, and a lax United States immigration policy—brought about large-scale migrations from Mexico; since the majority of the migrants tended to concentrate in fairly well-defined regions. The total result was a resident Spanish-speaking population of significant proportions. Whatever the legal status of the immigrants or their children—whether citizens, resident aliens, or simply aliens without resident alien status—their relations with the dominant Anglo group have been roughly the same; this condition stems in part from the fact that it is virtually impossible to ascertain, without extensive research, the legal status of a Spanish-speaking individual.

Even though the status of the Mexican immigrant, or migrant, must be considered within the context of relations between the resident minority and the majority, for purposes of convenience in this guide the problems incident to immigration have been treated in a separate chapter. The group under consideration here will be the residents, with the primary emphasis on distribution, diet and health, culture patterns, and discriminatory practices. Subsequent chapters will concern reaction to technological change, labor patterns, and education, with the resident Spanish-speaking treated as a part of the larger complex of the border.

Any full consideration of the position of the Spanish-speaking group in the border region should begin with some attention to the fuller context of dominant-minority relations in American

society; some conditions which appear on the surface to be unique in the border region are in actuality merely extensions or variations of dominant-minority relationships in other sections of the country. There is a vast amount of excellent literature on the broad subject of minorities in the United States; one of the most convenient, inasmuch as it gives some attention to the particulars of the Spanish-speaking group, is Charles F. Marden's *Minorities in American Society* (New York: The American Book Company, 1952. 493 pp.). Basically a text, *Minorities* is useful only to give perspective; it is strong on description and weak on theory. Edward C. McDonagh and Eugene S. Richards, *Ethnic Relations in the United States* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953. 408 pp.), also has a good chapter on the Spanish-speaking people of the United States. Paul A. G. Walter, Jr., *Race and Cultural Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952. 482 pp.), surveys the question on a world-wide basis, and then discusses various aspects of the situation in the United States; one chapter is devoted to the Spanish-speaking in this country. A more general treatment is Brewton Berry, *Race Relations: The Interaction of Ethnic and Racial Groups* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1951. 487 pp.).

Distribution

The Spanish-speaking population is not confined to the border states; Mexicans or descendants of Mexicans are scattered in more or less distinct groups from Pennsylvania to California; Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Colorado, as well as the states bordering on Mexican territory, have sufficiently large groups living in semi-isolated communities to create minority group situations. John H. Burma, *Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1954. 214 pp.), gives a good rounded picture of the areas of concentration and of the peculiarities of such areas. Paul S. Taylor, in a series of monographs published in the late '20s and early '30s by the University of California Press, covered the Imperial Valley of California, the South Platte region in Colorado, Dimmit County, Texas, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Chicago, Illinois; in a separate monograph, not a part of the series, he made a thorough examination of *An American-Mexican Frontier: Nueces County, Texas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934. 337 pp.), in which he traced the history of the movement into the region, discussed the nature of the social and economic

relations between the dominant and minority groups, and described a large number of demographic, social, and economic phenomena. Carey McWilliams was primarily concerned with the Southwestern Spanish-speaking group in his *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1948, 324 pp.). A rather concise history of the border area from colonial times to experiences during World War II, McWilliams' work is of an anecdotal character; he attempts to clarify the entire picture through the use of specific examples—particularly with respect to discrimination.

Manuel Gamio's classic *Mexican Immigration to the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930, 262 pp.) is primarily concerned with the origins of the immigrants rather than their distribution, but two shorter pieces, roughly the same in subject matter, concern the place of residence as well as the number and origins of the Mexicans who came to the United States; these small monographs are *Number, Origin, and Geographic Distribution of the Mexican Immigrants in the United States* (Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929, 14 pp.), which was a printed version of a paper Gamio delivered at an IPR conference in 1929, and *Quantitative Estimate, Source and Distribution of Mexican Immigration into the United States* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos Editorial y "Diario Oficial," 1930, 19 pp.). Gamio deals with the immigrant rather than the larger group of descendants of immigrants or of original settlers in the territories once under Spanish dominion. Ruth Tuck and George W. Hill, respectively, confine themselves to the Spanish-speaking in particular localities in *Not with the Fist: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945, 234 pp.) and *Texas Migratory Agricultural Workers in Madison, Wisconsin* (Madison: Wisconsin Agricultural Station, 1948). Tuck, particularly, emphasizes discriminatory patterns. The Denver University National Opinion Research Center, *The Spanish-Speaking Population of Denver* (Denver: Denver Unity Council, 1946), analysed various aspects of minority life in that city, and T. W. Ewing, *A Report on Minorities in Denver: The Spanish-Speaking People in Denver* (Denver: Mayor's Interim Survey Committee on Human Relations, 1947) covers the same topic. Frank X. Paz, *Mexican-Americans in Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Council of Special Agencies, 1948) confined his work to the situation in a major mid-western city.

Religious affiliations of a particular group are analysed in Robert Cuba Jones and Louis R. Wilson, *The Mexican in Chicago*

(Chicago: Published for the Comity Commission of the Chicago Church Federation, 1931. 31 pp.), while both Robert N. McLean, *Mexican Workers in the United States* (Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work, 1929) and Alba M. Edwards, *A Socio-Economic Grouping of Gainful Workers of the United States* (Washington: G.P.O., 1938. 279 pp.) examine particular aspects of Spanish-speaking life. Edwards, as the title indicates, covers the Spanish-speaking as a part of a larger complex and offers valuable comparative data.

Lyle Saunders, who has done some magnificent work in gathering and analysing data respecting the Spanish-speaking population, particularly addresses himself to the problem of identification in his short monograph *The Spanish-Speaking Population of Texas* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1949. 56 pp. Inter-American Occasional Papers, V.). The monograph has, in addition to the substantive data concerning the distribution of the population, the proportion of Spanish-speaking students, and the concentration in particular regions, a fine exposition of the methodological problems involved in arriving at an accurate estimate from the census and other available data. Paul A. F. Walter, Jr. and Ross Calvin, *The Population of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1947. 38 pp.) gives some of the same kinds of data for the neighboring state. Robert H. Talbert, *Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West* (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, Texas Christian University, 1955. 90 pp.) uses data from the 1950 census for a slightly broader coverage of somewhat the same subject. An earlier attempt to measure accurately the number of Spanish-speaking persons whether aliens or citizens, foreign-born or born in the United States, is Paul Schuster Taylor's *Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929. 19 pp. Although printed separately, this little study is pp. 237-255 of Volume 6 of the University of California Publications in Economics). Taylor, after using various methods of determining and computing, arrived at a figure of 882,680 for June 30, 1928; this estimate seems to be much too low, and Taylor admitted the probabilities of error. The same author, in both the already-mentioned *An American-Mexican Frontier* and in *Mexican Labor in the United States: Dimmit County, Winter Garden District, South Texas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930. 169 pp.), is largely concerned with economic, social and discrimination patterns but he also indicates the size of the popula-

tion in those areas. Eshrev Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. 172 pp.), present an analysis and a typology.

Diet and Health

Cultural and environmental effects on certain aspects of physical well-being are the subject of a variety of publications, but there is great need for more. Marcus Goldstein analysed data from some 2,000 subjects, from Texas and northern Mexico (the majority coming from Texas) in arriving at his conclusions in *Demographic and Bodily Changes in Descendants of Mexican Immigrants with Comparable Data on Children and Parents in Mexico* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1943. 103 pp.). Arthur Randolph Kelly deals with allied questions in *Physical Anthropology of a Mexican Population in Texas: A Study in Race Mixture* (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1947. 117 pp. Middle American Research Institute Publication #13). Charles P. Loomis and Olen Leonard, *Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project* (Washington: G.P.O., 1938. 49 pp., processed), touch on a related question. Jet C. Winters, writing more than twenty-five years ago, submitted *A Report on the Health and Nutrition of Mexicans Living in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas, 1931. 99 pp. University of Texas Bulletin #3127) in which he portrayed a rather gloomy picture of nutritional and dietary deficiencies which undermined the general health, particularly that of children. Children are also the subject of *The Work and Welfare of Children of Agricultural Workers in Hidalgo County, Texas* (Washington: U. S. Department of Labor, 1943. 74 pp. Children's Bureau Publication #298) by Amber A. Warburton, Helen Wood, and Marian M. Crane; the vast majority of the agricultural workers in that county are Spanish-speaking. Jessie Witacre has contributed two monographs on Texas school children. The first, *The Diet of Texas School Children* (College Station, Texas: Texas A and M Agricultural Experiment Station, 1934. Bulletin 489), analysed records on 4,258 Anglos, 1,350 Negroes, and 482 Spanish-speaking; the second, *Some Body Measurements of Texas School Children* (College Station, Texas: Texas A and M Agricultural Experiment Station, 1939. Bulletin 567), consists of gross measurements of a smaller number of Anglos and Negroes but a larger number of Spanish-speaking. The comparisons within and between the publications are highly suggestive.

D. B. Hacker, *et al.*, *A Study of Food Habits in New Mexico, 1949-1952* (State College, New Mexico: New Mexico A and M Agricultural Experiment Station, 1954. Bulletin 384) used inadequate sampling techniques in obtaining data from schools, clinics, interviews, and the like, but the findings are again suggestive. The best single publication on this general subject, however, is Lyle Saunders' pioneer *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954. 317 pp.), in which Saunders discusses the general difficulties of introducing scientific medicine into a folk medical society and then further distinguishes the folk practices of the Mexican immigrants and their descendants on the one hand and the Hispanos—original Spanish settlers—on the other.

Culture Patterns

Literature specifically aimed at a scientific analysis of the basic culture pattern, or patterns, of the Spanish-speaking people in the United States is scarce. There has been, and continues to be, a tendency to generalize concerning culture traits on the basis of too few studies. By consulting all the literature in the field, mentioned not only in this section dealing with monographs but also that under the other categories of literature, one may be able—by a process of interpolation, extrapolation and interpretation—to come to some fairly accurate conclusions with respect to certain aspects of the culture patterns. At best, however, in all likelihood there would be errors resulting from an improper application of spot studies, of which there are an insufficient number. Perhaps a likely place to begin is the study of Spanish-speaking culture patterns in the region from which the immigrant originally came; both Gamio and Humphrey established the importance of the north central plateau region as one of the major sources of such immigration. Along with his studies concerning Mexican labor in the United States, Paul S. Taylor did field work in a small town in Jalisco, near the border of the neighboring state of Guanajuato, to serve as a base-line for some of his findings; the results of this work is *A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community: Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933. 92 pp. Ibero-Americana 4). Taylor found that the region was one of considerable migration to the United States, and that the migration pattern was a microcosm of the total national emigration pattern; his short work is an excellent—and virtually the only—

study of the culture of the community, the effects of the migrations on the material and institutional culture, and a wide variety of other considerations important to a knowledge of the Spanish-speaking in the United States. A more recent study touching on the same subject is Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *No Frontier to Learning; the Mexican Student in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. 148 pp.) which examines the Mexican college student in the United States and some of his problems when he returns to Mexico.

A study which bridges the gap somewhat between the original culture pattern of the Mexican village and that of the United States border area is Edward H. Spicer, *Pascua: A Yaqui Village in Arizona* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. 319 pp.). In the village were Spanish-speaking, English-speaking, and Yaqui-speaking, giving the village a tri-lingual setting. Among other things described and analysed is the *compadre* system. Even though *Pascua* is an excellent study, it leaves many questions relative to the general culture pattern unanswered. Sister Frances Jerome Woods has attempted, in *Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups* (New York: Harper, 1956. 402 pp.), to cover the field, but some of the generalizations are open to question. Her more pointed *Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1949. 134 pp.) is much more valuable. One of the most inclusive analyses is Olen Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico* (Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1941. 72 pp. Rural Life Studies 1), which concerns a small Hispano village, in San Miguel County, living at the subsistence level but loath to make any substantial changes in order to meet the challenge of technological advancement. The land tenure aspect of the same village is described more fully in Olen Leonard, *The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish American Village in New Mexico* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1948. 154 pp.). Anacleto G. Apodaca, *The Spanish-American Farmers of the Tewa Basin and the Extension Service* (State College, New Mexico: New Mexico A and M Agricultural Experiment Station, 1951. Press Bulletin 1051), examines a particular aspect of inter-group relations and technological change. Sigurd Johansen, *Rural Social Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1948. 146 pp. Number One of University of New Mexico Publications in

Social Sciences and Philosophy) comes to the not-too-startling conclusion that the basic instruments of social control in a number of rural centers in Dona Ana County, New Mexico, were the family and the Church. In spite of its 1948 publication date, the work is based upon data collected in 1938, 1939, and 1940; all data and conclusions, therefore, relate to pre-World War II and may not apply to the post-war situation.

George I. Sanchez made Taos County the locale of his penetrating and sympathetic essay on *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940. 98 pp.). Alice Corbin Henderson's *Brothers of Light: The Penitentes of the Southwest* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937. 126 pp.) is a convenient source of information for a flagellant sect of New Mexico, but the group is so unique that few relevant generalizations can be drawn from their mode of life. Cleve Hallenbeck and Juanita H. Williams, *Legends of the Spanish Southwest* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938. 342 pp.) hold that the legends relative to the conquest and settlement of the area, in emphasizing heroism, faith and endurance, tend to strengthen the vitality of the people among whom the legends circulate; this is a questionable thesis. Paul Horgan's *Great River* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1954. 2 vols.), which created quite a flurry in the literary world on its publication, gives, through a series of vignettes, some interesting and impressionistic views on the culture of the area; many of his interpretations are open to question, but the book is readable and has much of great value.

Many of the works already cited bear on the subject. In addition the following touch on some aspects of culture patterns:

- Allen, Ruth Alice, *The Labor of Women in the Production of Cotton* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1931. 285 pp. Bureau of Research on the Social Sciences Publication # 3; University of Texas Bulletin # 3134).
- Fugate, Frank L., *The Spanish Heritage of the Southwest* (El Paso, Paso, Texas: C. Hertzog, 1952. 33 pp.). The best thing about this limited edition is the magnificent printing of Carl Hertzog.
- Lemert, Edwin M. and Judy Rosberg, *The Administration of Justice to Minority Groups in Los Angeles County* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948. 27 pp.).
- Little, Wilson, *Spanish Speaking Children in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1944. 73 pp.). His emphasis and his interest concern education.
- McLean, Robert Norris, *That Mexican! As He Really is, North and*

- South of the Rio Grande* (New York, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1928. 184 pp.). Impressionistic and unscientific.
- Menefee, Selden Cowles, *Mexican Migratory Workers in South Texas* (Washington: G.P.O., 1941. 67 pp.).
- Panunzio, Constantine Maria, *How Mexicans Earn and Live* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933).
- (The) *Spanish American Song and Game Book* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1942. 87 pp.). A WPA Writers' Project effort, this is a compilation of New Mexican songs, given with both Spanish text and English translation; as well as the music for a simple piano accompaniment. The translations are poor.
- Young, Sarah L. (ed.), *Education for Cultural Unity* (Oakland, Calif.: California Elementary School Principals' Association, 17th Yearbook, 1945).

Discrimination

Ugly discriminatory practices, some overt and some covert, have been characteristic of relations between the dominant and minority groups in the border area, and have given rise to frequent physical as well as cultural clashes. The cyclical effect of the practice is well-demonstrated in most of the area, in which virtually every aspect of the material culture of the Spanish-speaking is at a lower level than the remainder of the population. Unlike the discrimination against the Negro in the south, discrimination against the Spanish-speaking is not supported by law; but the social acceptability of the practice, and the social unacceptability of non-discriminatory practices, act as enforcing agents. It has been only in recent years that there has been any general recognition in the area, even by thoughtful people, that the practice existed or had any meaning for society in general. Although Paul S. Taylor pointed out in both his Dimmit County and his Nueces County studies, already cited in the previous section of this chapter, that the Spanish-speaking populations in those areas were deliberately denied equality of opportunity in the educational, political, and economic fields, he did it obliquely and a number of years passed before there was any frontal attack on the specific question. Stimulated in part by the ideological conflict of World War II, and by frequent indications of displeasure from Mexico concerning certain aspects of the situation, groups became interested. The result was a number of rather pointed publications.

One of the first, and one of those which created the greatest protest from the citizens of the area affected, was Pauline R. Kibbe's hard-hitting *Latin Americans in Texas* (Albuquerque:

University of New Mexico Press, 1946. 302 pp.). A devastating portrayal of the nature, extent, and results of discriminatory practices, the work is a serious and well-documented study which depends upon irrefutable evidence for its conclusions. In the same vein, but much less useful, is Carey McWilliams' *North from Mexico* (already noted), which depends upon a series of isolated events to indicate a pattern; the obvious dependence at times upon poor sources of information tends to obscure the validity of an enormous amount of sound evidence. McWilliams has two other books which touch lightly on the subject in passing. *Ill Fares the Land: Migrants and Migratory Labor in the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1942. 419 pp.) discusses discrimination in connection with the Spanish-speaking migrant cotton pickers, and *Brothers under the Skin* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1943. 325 pp.) devotes chapter 3 to the "Mexican" problem. Alonso S. Perales, *Are We Good Neighbors?* (San Antonio: Artes Gráficas, 1948. 298 pp.), answers his question in the negative after examining patterns of discrimination in Texas and other states. Ruth Tuck, too, makes a strong case for measuring the costs of discrimination in terms of loss in human dignity and in economic stagnation in *Not With the Fist: Mexican-Americans in a South-west City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1946. 234 pp.).

George I. Sanchez has long evinced a particular interest in the effects of segregation and discrimination in the school systems of the border region. In *Concerning Segregation of Spanish-Speaking Children in the Public Schools* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951. 75 pp. Inter-American Education Occasional Papers, IX), he discusses the Méndez and Delgado cases of California and Texas, respectively—in which the courts held that segregation of Spanish-speaking children in public schools was form of discrimination disallowed by law—and then examines the various arguments which have been presented justifying segregation. Talbert and Saunders (previously cited) both touch indirectly on the subject, largely by inference in their comparisons of educational data.

More oblique is the approach to the situation in a number of monographs dealing with labor. Selden Cowles Menefee and Orin C. Cassmore examined the condition of the *Pecan Shellers of San Antonio: The Problem of Underpaid and Unemployed Mexican Labor* (Washington: G.P.O., 1940. 82 pp.); their findings are reminiscent of some of the so-called Muckraking literature, although the style of writing is objective and dispassionate. Selden

Menefee also contributed a small monograph on a rural group; his *Mexican Migratory Workers of South Texas* (Washington: G.P.O., 1941. 67 pp.) uses the Spanish-speaking of Crystal City, Texas (in the same Winter Garden District about which Taylor wrote), as the focus of his study of migratory labor. The region had been hit hard by a decline in spinach prices and production, and accordingly the area may not have been completely representative, but the data are startling. Ninety-five percent of the resident Spanish-speaking population migrated in 1938, going to other parts of Texas, to Colorado, and to other places as far away as Michigan for beet work. Sixty percent of the migrants worked in the beet fields, and about thirty-three percent worked in the cotton fields before returning to their "homes" in Crystal City. The median cash income per family was \$506.00; the median cash-and-kind income was \$561.00. Menefee does not mention discrimination, but the implications are obvious. Although Menefee consistently uses the term "Mexican," he obviously is referring to Spanish-speaking who are either citizens or resident aliens, as distinct from Mexican migrants.

Frederic Meyers, using data supplied by various industries to the Texas Employment Commission, found a discouragingly obvious, but denied, discrimination; *Spanish-Name Persons in the Labor Force in Manufacturing Industry in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951. 31 pp. Inter-American Educational Papers, VIII) reported that Spanish name persons are generally paid lower wages than their Anglo-American counterparts, and that Texas industrial wages in general were lower than wages in other states. At roughly the same time, Eastin Nelson collaborated with Meyers on *Labor Requirements and Labor Resources in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1950. 33 pp. Inter-American Education Occasional Papers, VI), and interjected another element into the already complicated picture of discrimination: the "wetback." Lyle Saunders and George I. Sanchez' (eds.), *Wetbacks: A Preliminary Report to the Advisory Committee, Study of Spanish Speaking People* (Austin: University of Texas, 1949. 39 pp. mimeographed) also is somewhat concerned with discrimination; both the Nelson-Meyers and the Saunders-Sanchez reports will be discussed more fully in the section dealing specifically with the illegal immigrant situation.

It would be impossible and useless to list all the literature which demonstrates, consciously or unconsciously, the existence of discriminatory feelings with respect to the Spanish-speaking.

Illustrative of this literature, however, are two works already cited: Jennie Parks Ringgold, *Frontier Days in the Southwest*, certainly touches on the subject in her description of the Morenci strike, although she seems oblivious of the fact that deep prejudice and discrimination was one of the major elements in the situation. Edith M. Bowyer, *Observations of a Ranchwoman in New Mexico*, made frequent reference to the difficulties involved in using what she chose to call "Mexican" labor, and in so doing showed clearly her own stereotypical concepts. J. O. Langford's comments on his life in the Big Bend country (previously cited) indicates some of the same phenomenon, and Walter Prescott Webb, in his delightful *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1935. 584 pp.) presents some stories of Texas Ranger activities which were quite clearly motivated by attitudes of discrimination. Hart Stillwell's *Border City* touches such practices in that area, and Ruth Ann Fogartie's little study of *Texas Born Spanish-Name Students in Texas Colleges and Universities, 1945-1946* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1948. 35 pp. Inter-American Education Occasional Papers III), shows, without making a point of it, the effects of educational discrimination; the findings are noted more fully in another section of this guide.

A quite different attitude was shown in Benjamin Maurice Read, *Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo México* (Santa Fe: Compañía Impresora del Nuevo Mexico, 1911. 616 pp.), also published in an English-language edition as *Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Co., 1912. 812 pp. Translated by Eleuterio Baca); Read himself was Spanish-speaking, and his work reflects obliquely a considerable resentment at the manner in which his people were treated by the Anglos. One of the best works in presenting the historical development of the relations between the two groups is to be found in John Henry Vaughan, *History and Government of New Mexico* (State College, New Mexico: Published by the Author, 1921. 369 pp.; also State College, New Mexico: C. L. Vaughan, 1927. 377 pp.).

Government Publications

The Mexican Government has been deeply concerned with respect to the Spanish-speaking population within the United States, and has on a number of occasions encouraged repatriation with great success; immediately after the conclusion of the most bitter phase of the fighting during the Revolution, and again

after the stock market crash in 1929, the Mexican efforts at repatriation were rewarded with heavy migration from the Southwest to Mexico. For obvious diplomatic reasons, however, the Mexican Government has been reluctant to publish materials respecting the number, distribution, economic condition, or treatment of the Spanish-speaking in the United States, except as the information referred to the "braceros."

The United States Government, on the other hand, has been vitally involved in a number of ways—particularly through the Bureau of Census, through agencies concerned with migratory labor, and through various soil conservation projects. Many of the publications sponsored by the United States Government have appeared with the authorship designated, and these are cited under the name of the author. Illustrative of Departmental or Bureau publications dealing with the subject are the following. It must be emphasized that this is not intended to be an exhaustive list; such a list may be compiled by consulting the proper guides for government publications:

- United States Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: Population of the Spanish Mother Tongue, 1940* (Washington: Census Bureau, Series p-15, No. 1, June 1942).
- United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, *Village Dependence on Migratory Labor in the Upper Rio Grande Area* (Albuquerque: Regional Bulletin No. 47, Conservation Economic Series No. 20, 1937).
- *Tewa Basin Study, Volume II: The Spanish American Villages* (Albuquerque: Economic Surveys Division, 1939).
- *Preliminary Report on Concho* (Albuquerque: Regional Bulletin No. 29, Conservation Economics Series No. 2, 1935).
- *Destruction of Villages at San Marcial* (Albuquerque: Regional Bulletin No. 28, Conservation Economics Series 11, 1937).
- President's Commission on Migratory Labor, *Report: Migratory Labor in American Agriculture* (Washington: G.P.O., 1951).

State governments, while not as active in this field as has been the national government, have nevertheless occasionally sponsored research and publication; two of the best are:

- California: Mexican Fact Finding Committee, *Mexicans in California: Report* (Sacramento, California: State Printing Office, 1930. 214 pp.).
- Minnesota: Governor's Interracial Commission, *The Mexican in Minnesota: A Report to Governor C. Elmer Anderson* (St. Paul: State of Minnesota, 1953. 84 pp.).

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

Some exceptionally fine theses on the subject under discussion are available. One of the best is that by Ozzie G. Simmons, *Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas: A Study in Dominant-Subordinate Group Relations* (Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1952) in which McAllen, Texas is the focus of study; some excellent chapters on Spanish-speaking culture, inter-group relations, social systems, occupational structures and discrimination patterns are included. An equally fine piece of work, dealing with the same general subject but with a slightly different orientation, is Carolyn Zeleny's *Relations between the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans in New Mexico: A Study of Conflict and Accommodation in a Dual-Ethnic Situation* (Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, 1944). Unlike the Simmons thesis, the Zeleny research was primarily historical in nature; the most important single conclusion is that the Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico have achieved accommodation through separatism. Other aspects of acculturation and cultural values are described and analysed by Florence Kluckhohn, *Los Atarqueños: A Study of Patterns and Configurations in a New Mexico Village* (Ph.D. Thesis, Radcliffe College, 1941) and Munro S. Edmonson, *Los Manitos: Patterns of Humor in Relation to Cultural Values* (Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1952); both are essential to the understanding of Spanish-speaking border culture.

Julian Samora examines organizational participation in *Minority Leadership in a Bi-lingual Community* (Ph.D. Thesis, Washington University, 1953), and in *The Acculturation of Spanish Speaking People of Fort Collins, Colorado* (Master's Thesis, Colorado A. and M., 1947) the same author examines certain characteristics of acculturation in a region which is near the outermost limits of the cultural border area. Sister Frances Jerome Woods, *Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas* (Ph.D. Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1949. Published under the same title), is also interested in the pattern of leadership, but among more recent arrivals to the United States; a comparison of the findings and methods in Samora and Woods would prove profitable. Paul A. F. Walter, Jr., added a great deal to the literature of culture change among the people under discussion when he completed his *A Study of the Isolation and Social Change in Three Spanish-Speaking Villages of New Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1938). A completely different aspect of cul-

ture change and inter-group relations was investigated by George C. Barker, *Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1947), the principal findings of which were published in article form: see the section on Journal Articles. James Finkelstein's *A Functional Analysis of the Folk-Ritual System in a Small Agricultural Community* (Honors Thesis, Harvard College, 1951) is of less value, but worthy of consideration. Jack Elwood Dodson, *Differential Fertility in Houston, Texas, 1940-1950: A Study of Recent Trends* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1955), does not deal specifically with the Spanish-speaking, but the comparative data between the Spanish-speaking and other groups are of tremendous importance and should be consulted by any researcher who is faced with the necessity for establishing trends.

A fairly interesting account of one of the most effective agencies working in behalf of the Spanish-speaking is Edward D. Garza's *LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens)*, (Master's Thesis, Southwest Texas State Teachers College, 1951). Garza covers the founding, history, aims, code and scope of the organization, and devotes some attention to the manner in which the LULAC has given aid to migrants. This is a topic deserving of better treatment.

Other unpublished manuscripts of value are:

- Brookshire, Marjorie Shepherd, *The Industrial Pattern of Mexican-American Employment in Nueces County, Texas* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1954). Written twenty years after the publication of P. S. Taylor's *An American-Mexican Frontier*, Mrs. Brookshire's findings are not significantly at variance with those of Taylor.
- Francis, Jessie D., *An Economic and Social History of Mexican California* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1936). California between Mexican Independence and the Bear Republic.
- Greer, Scott A., *The Participation of Ethnic Minorities in Labor Unions of Los Angeles County* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1950-1951). A disappointment in methods, data collected, and analysis of findings.
- Greer, Scott A. and Henry Bagish, *Urbanization and Occupational Mobility in a Mexican-American Enclave in Los Angeles* (Unpublished research report, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of California at Los Angeles, 1949).
- Meldrum, George W., *The History of the Treatment of Foreign and Minority Groups in California, 1830-1860* (Ph.D. Thesis, Stan-

- ford University, 1949). Not primarily concerned with the Spanish-speaking, but good for comparative data.
- Telling, Irving, *New Mexican Frontiers: A Social History of the Gallup Area, 1881-1901* (Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1952).
- Van der Eerden, Sister M. Lucia, *Maternity Care in a Spanish-American Community of New Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1949). A highly significant work in a field only poorly covered.
- Kingrea, Nellie Ward, *History of the Good Neighbor Commission in Texas* (Master's Thesis, Texas Christian University).
- McCrary, Mallie Muncy, *These Minorities in our Midst: With Emphasis on Latin Americans in Texas* (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, 1953). An ambitious project, inadequately covered.
- Ganzáles, Jovita, *Social Life in Cameron, Starr and Zapata Counties* (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, 1930).
- Crain, Forest Burr, *The Occupational Distribution of Spanish-Name People in Austin, Texas* (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, 1948).

Articles in Journals

Journal articles dealing with various aspects of the Spanish-speaking situation are numerous, particularly since the beginning of World War II. Although a number of scholars, particularly Emory Bogardus, Paul S. Taylor, Edwin T. Bamford, and T. E. Sullenberger, engaged in research in the 'twenties and early 'thirties with respect to the Mexican immigrant and other categories of the Spanish-speaking, it was only in much more recent times that a large number of competent scholars have brought their resources to bear on the question. Soon after World War I, Edwin T. Bamford became concerned with the impact which the Mexican migrant was having on the southwest; in "The Mexican Casual Problem in the Southwest," *JAS-SSR* 8 (1923-1924): 363-371, he pointed out that the war had brought large numbers, the vast majority of whom were unskilled, into the United States. After analysing various aspects of the question, Bamford concluded that as of that moment the Mexican migrant constituted a community liability rather than an asset.

Distribution

T. Earl Sullenberger, "Mexican Population of Omaha," *JAS-SSR* 8 (1923-1924): 289-293, and Emory S. Bogardus, "Mexican Immigrants," *JAS-SSR* 11 (1926-1927): 470-488, came to somewhat the same conclusions regarding birth, death and crime rates,

labor characteristics, and similar items; both articles are somewhat impressionistic and may be questioned on the grounds of scientific accuracy, but in the absence of other publications they will have to be accepted as base-lines.

World War II, for reasons already mentioned, seems to have given marked stimulus to the study of the Spanish-speaking in terms of his origins, his distribution, and his numbers. Kingsley Davis and Clarence Senior, "Immigration from the Western Hemisphere," *Annals* 262 (March, 1949): 70-81, surveyed the trends of immigration since 1910 and concluded that the Mexican proportion was steadily rising; their estimate of 379,000 Mexican-born residents in the United States in 1940 is open to question in view of other publications here cited. A few years earlier Donald Perry, "Aliens in the United States," *Annals* 223 (September, 1942): 1-9, in a discussion of the Alien Registration Act of 1940, gave 416,000 as the number of Mexicans who were subject to the act; this was the fourth largest group of aliens in the United States, with only Italy, Canada, and Poland, in that order, having a greater number. W. Rex Crawford, "The Latin American in Wartime United States," *Annals* 223 (September, 1942): 123-131, estimated the number of foreign born for the years 1930 and 1940, showing the distribution by states in convenient tabular form; his estimates agree with neither Davis, Senior nor Perry.

Wilbert E. Moore, "America's Migration Treaties during World War II," *Annals* 262 (March, 1949): 31-38, concerns himself only with the recruitment program relative to Spanish-speaking persons, and includes some discussion of the migrants from the West Indian islands. Thomas Wilson Longmore and Homer T. Hitt used the 1930 census for a "Demographic Analysis of First and Second Generation Mexican Population in the United States, 1930," *SWSSQ* 24 (1943-1944): 138-149, while Lawrence Leslie Waters, "Transient Mexican Agricultural Labor," *SWSSQ* 22 (1941-1942): 49-66, made a general survey of the kinds of labor in which the transients were involved, and then presented some of the difficulties which the existence of such labor created. Samuel E. Wood, "California Migrants," *SSR* 24 (1939-1940): 248-261, compared the trends of the major groups of migrants into California—Orientals, Mexicans, and Dust Bowl victims; although he apparently is concerned with Mexican nationals, it is not clear that he makes distinction between these migrating from Mexico and those among the Spanish-speaking who were moving within the United States.

Two Spanish language publications give further evidence of the distribution of the Spanish-speaking population. "Mas de cuatrocientos periódicos en Español se han editado en Los Estados Unidos," *La Prensa* (San Antonio, Texas), February 13, 1938, lists the names and places of publication of Spanish language newspapers, and Ramon E. Ruiz, "Hijos olvidados: La historia del pueblo de descendencia mexicana en Los Estados Unidos," *América Indígena* 12, #2 (April, 1952): 121, comments generally on the numbers and areas of concentration.

Paul S. Taylor, many of whose other works have already been cited, condensed some of his findings in "Mexicans North of the Rio Grande," *Survey* 66 (1931): 135-140, 197, 200-202, 205, and then collaborated with Tom Vasey in two articles on California farm labor, in which comparative data were given for various non-Anglo farm labor groups, and certain trends in California compared with those in Mississippi and Iowa. These two articles are Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "Historical Background of California Farm Labor," and "Contemporary Background of California Farm Labor," in *Rural Sociology* 1 (1936): 281-295 and 401-419 respectively. Richard E. Greer concerned himself with the historical problem of determining the number of foreign-born in New Mexico shortly after the United States acquired the territory. In "Origins of the Foreign-born Population of New Mexico during the Territorial Period," *NMHR* 17 (1942): 281-287, he concludes that in 1850 about half claimed Mexico as the place of birth, while fourteen and eleven percent respectively claimed Ireland and Germany. Hazel D. Santiago, "Mexican Influence in Southern California," *SSR* 16 (1931-1932): 68-74, is primarily concerned with architectural and other such visible influences, but in the process she points out that the number of Spanish-speaking in California increased from 88,000 in 1920 to 189,000 in 1929; there is good reason to suspect the absolute accuracy of her figures, but the trend was clear. John C. Russell, "State Regionalism in New Mexico," *Social Forces* 16 (1937-1938): 268-271, approaches his subject from a purely linguistic angle and indicates that the state may be divided into two well-defined regions, one Spanish-speaking and the other basically Anglo.

Other articles dealing with the general subject of the distribution of the Spanish-speaking are:

Lofstedt, C., "Mexican Population of Pasadena, California," *JAS-SSR* 7 (1922-1923): 260-268.

- Manuel, H. T., "The Mexican Population of Texas," *SWSSQ* 15 (1934-1935): 29-51.
- Meyers, Frederic, "Employment and Relative Earnings of Spanish-Name Persons in Texas Industries," *SEJ* (April, 1953): 494-507.
- United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Increase of Mexican Population in the United States, 1920-1930," *MLR* 37 (July, 1933): 46-48.

Culture Patterns and Naturalization

One of the most interesting aspects of the Spanish-speaking culture pattern in the United States is the reluctance with which immigrants sever their legal relation with the mother country. While there are no reliable and absolute data concerning the phenomenon, it is well recognized that only a small proportion of the Mexican immigrants take out naturalization papers. A number of minor studies relative to the question have been completed, one of the most telling that of the late Norman D. Humphrey, "The Detroit Mexican and Naturalization," *Social Forces* 22 (1943-1944): 332-335, who analysed those factors which tended to encourage naturalization and those which tended to discourage the action among those native-born Mexicans who lived in Detroit. One could postulate that the same forces would be operative in other sections of the country, even though Humphrey's conclusion indicated that the incidence of naturalization is greater in the midwestern city than it is in the border area. Helen W. Walker examined the question in a broader framework in "Mexican Immigrants and American Citizenship," *SSR* 13 (1928-1929): 465-471, and concluded that one of the most important factors militating against such a positive action was the small advantage which the immigrant could see in obtaining citizenship; a heavy contributory factor, apparently, has been the fear that those who did not would look with disfavor upon those who did. Miss Walker estimated that only a minute percent ever become citizens. Emory S. Bogardus, "Current Problems of Mexican Immigrants," *SSR* 25 (1940-1941): 166-174, considered the question of naturalization as a major problem, of equal importance with second generation adaptation, unemployment, and other such items.

The broader and equally important question of the basic culture patterns among the Spanish-speaking has received some attention in studies of article-length. Norman D. Humphrey again used the Mexican immigrant in Detroit as his sample in order to ascertain a particular characteristic; his "The Housing and House-

hold Practices of Detroit Mexicans," *Social Forces* 24 (1945-1946): 433-437, indicated that the more recent the arrival the greater tendency to seek poorly lighted and poorly ventilated dwelling places—basements, for example—which, according to Humphrey, were more nearly like the accustomed adobe than were other types of dwellings. Humphrey's assumptions and conclusions are open to question. Humphrey also examined the broader framework of the experience of the Detroit Mexican in "El campesino mexicano en Detroit," *Rev Mex Soc* 7 (1945): 403-416. Professor Humphrey's research has not been replicated in the border states; it would be of great importance to know the extent to which the findings would be the same.

"Mexican Peon Women in Texas," *SSR* 16 (1931-1932): 131-142, by Ruth A. Allen is a rather good study of 294 "Mexican" farm women distributed in five central Texas counties; whether they were migrants from Mexico, resident aliens, or citizens of this country is not clear, but the description of the subjects would warrant an assumption that they were Spanish-speaking citizens. The looseness of the definition rather undermines the value of the study, but there are some good data concerning certain cultural aspects. Dorothy Swain Thomas, "Differential Fertility in California in 1930: The Racial Aspect," *Social Forces* 20 (1941-1942): 146-154, uses data from the 1930 census to determine her ratios; her "races" are native white, Negro, and "other," this last including Mexican, Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese. The analysis showed that the fertility ratios were higher among the native white than among the Negro group in all categories except rural farm, but that the "other races" had a ratio roughly three times as great as the native white in all categories. The failure to separate the Spanish-speaking from the other groups undermines the value of the work for the present topic, but some suggestive lines of inquiry are demonstrated. Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky, "Mexicans in the United States: A Problem of Social Differentiation," *SSR* 36 (1951-1952) is primarily concerned with the resident alien and gives good data on acculturation and integration, status and assimilation, and modes of isolation and integration.

An extraordinarily interesting piece of research is reported by William D. Altus, "The American Mexican: The Survival of a Culture," *JS Psy* 29 (1949): 211-220. The data come from the Special Training Center of the 9th Service Command, comprising the eight westernmost states; draftees who failed to meet a minimum standard of literacy were sent to the center for a twelve-

weeks training course. Among those at the center at any given time, there was a large proportion of Spanish mother-tongue personnel; at the time of the research this group accounted for approximately forty-eight percent of the total. The Spanish-speaking fell into three large categories: those born in the United States who spoke only Spanish, those born in the United States who spoke both Spanish and English, and those born outside of the United States who spoke only Spanish. Dr. Altus compares the three groups from various points of view, and analyzes different types of tests given the groups. The full implications of the results are not made clear, either in the article itself or in other literature consulted; it seems clear, however, more intensive research should be done on questions related to the findings.

Other aspects of Spanish-speaking border culture patterns are discussed in the following:

- Dobie, J. Frank, "The Mexican *Vaquero* of the Texas Border," *SWSSQ* 8 (1927-1928): 15-26. A good description of the attitudes and attributes of the *vaquero*, written by an outstanding folklorist.
- Duncan, Otis Durant, "The Fusion of White, Negro, and Indian Cultures at the Converging of the New South and the West," *SWSSQ* 14 (1933-1934): 357-369. Not completely relevant to the study at hand, but some interesting data and conclusions from the Oklahoma, Texas and Arkansas region.
- Heller, Christine A., "Regional Patterns of Dietary Deficiency: The Spanish-American of New Mexico and Arizona," *Annals* 225 (January, 1943): 49-51. The diets are low in calories, low in calcium, and low in protein, of both kind and amount. Diets are low in vitamin C, in spite of the high vitamin C content in the chili peppers, which lose most of it when dried.
- Johansen, Sigurd, "The Social Organization of Spanish-American Villages," *SWSSQ* 23 (1942-1943): 151-159. An excellent piece.
- Rosenquist, Carl M., "Differential Responses of Texas Convicts," *AJS* 38 (1932-1933): 10-21. Responses to guilty or not-guilty of the crime convicted by inmates of the prison, with comparisons between "Whites," "Mexicans" and Negroes. The pattern of responses was quite different for the three groups; Rosenquist does not essay an explanation of the phenomenon.
- Rosenquist, Carl and Alvin H. Schraft, "Differential Fertility in Rural Texas," *Rural Sociology* 12 (1947): 21-26. Not dealing directly with the Spanish-speaking; of the factors considered, the only significant correlations were tractor density (direct and varying) and education (indirect). Urbanism was observed to have a depressing effect on the surrounding farm population.

An interesting attempt was made some years ago to determine whether Texas itself could be defined as a unique culture area; the principal evidence adduced were literary and architectural forms. Joseph Martin Dawson, "Keeping up with Culture in Texas and the Southwest," *Social Forces* 10 (1931-1932): 176-183, is a discussion of various characteristics, with a comment by a number of individuals, including Howard Mumford Jones and J. Frank Dobie.

Perhaps some key to the naturalization, acculturation, and assimilation questions may be gleaned from Ralph L. Beals's "The Mexican Student Views the United States," *Annals* 295 (September, 1954): 108-115, the partial result of a much larger study concerning college and university students from Mexico. The reactions of the Mexican college student to certain aspects of life as he finds it in the United States may well serve to explain some of the actions and reactions by migrants. Many years ago Max Sylvius Handman attacked the question obliquely in his "Economic Reasons for the Coming of the Mexican Immigrant," *AJS* 35 (1929-1930): 601-611. Norman D. Humphrey, in a publication somewhat antedating Beals's article, examined the cultural components in a typical Mexican village from which immigrants come; the site for his study, "The Cultural Background of the Mexican Immigrant," *Rural Sociology* 13 (1948): 239-255, was Tecolatlán, Jalisco. In this connection, also, one might well consider Manuel Gamio's thesis, expressed in "An Analysis of Social Processes and the Obstacles to Agricultural Progress in Mexico," *Rural Sociology* 2 (1937): 143-147, to the effect that the entire rural culture pattern in Mexico was, at the time he wrote in 1937, so primitive and backward that any expectation for farm modernization and technological advancement within a short time was unrealistic. Certainly Charles P. Loomis and Glen Grisham, "Spanish Americans: The New Mexican Experiment in Village Rehabilitation," *App Anthropol* 2, #3 (June, 1943): 13-37, would tend to support the application of the thesis to the United States side of the border, even though Loomis and Grisham made no such suggestion. Another Gamio set of concepts may be of interest, as well; "Static and Dynamic Values in the Indigenous Past of America," *HAHR* 23 (1943): 386-393.

Three other articles impinging on the subject are of interest. George M. Foster's "Folk Economy of Rural Mexico with Special Reference to Marketing," *JM* 13 (1948-1949): 153-162, describes the functions of marketing in the Lake Pátzcuaro region of Michoacán, from which area immigrants come to the United

States. The article is descriptive and based on observation. William Davidson, "Rural Latin American Culture," *Social Forces* 25 (1946-1947): 249-252, is a synthesis of the data from a number of publications, none dealing specifically with Mexico. Whether any of the culture patterns described exist in the border area would have to be determined by field research. Charles P. Loomis and Edgar A. Schuler, "Acculturation of Foreign Students in the United States," *App Anthropol* 7, #2 (Spring, 1948): 17-34, reports the results of a study involving 62 United States Department of Agriculture Latin American Trainees, 3 of whom were from Mexico.

Clyde V. Kiser, "Cultural Pluralism," *Annals* 262 (March, 1949): 117-130, is concerned with the broad question of assimilation, but the particular situation with respect to the Spanish-speaking receives some attention. Emory S. Bogardus considers the World War II Los Angeles zoot-suiters as a product of acculturation difficulties, but he emphasizes the small proportion of the total Spanish-speaking youth population who took part in the gangs; see his "Gangs of Mexican-American Youth," *SSR* 28 (1943-1944): 55-66. Donovan Senter, "Acculturation among the New Mexican Villagers in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of Other Spanish-speaking Americans," *Rural Sociology* 10 (1945): 31-47, concludes that the Spanish-speaking have tried three possible methods of adjustment in different areas, and that the New Mexican pattern is essentially different from the other regions. Max Sylvius Handman, "The Mexican Immigrant in Texas," *SWSSQ* (then published as *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*) 7 (1926-1927): 33-41, outlined some of the adjustment and migration patterns of the Mexican immigrant, and Robert C. Jones, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Mexican Family in the United States," *AJS* 53 (1947-1948): 450-460, is particularly concerned with the effect on family life inherent in the change in functional relationships within the Mexican immigrant family after arriving in the United States; economic insecurity and high mobility effects are also considered.

One of the factors which tend to retard acculturation and assimilation is an agency or institution with which the foreign national is intimately concerned, and which tends to keep the group a cohesive unit. Yaroslav J. Chyz, "Agencies Organized by Nationality Groups in the United States," *Annals* 262 (March, 1949): 148-158, is a convenient source for determining in a rough manner the nature and the extent of the agencies relevant to the Span-

ish-speaking, and for putting this particular group in proper perspective with regard to other ethnic minorities. Unfortunately, some of the most active organizations are not mentioned, and some of those which are named are in reality paper organizations; these faults make the paper of value only as a general background for the subject, which needs much greater attention. Emory S. Bogardus, whose interests were catholic and whose products prolific, examines some of the particular problems of the Spanish-speaking citizens in his "Second Generation Mexicans," *SSR* 13 (1928-1929): 276-283; among the most important were segregation, poor school adjustment, and (particularly with respect to teen-age girls) rebellion against parental proscriptions on Anglo 'teen-age freedoms.

There are a variety of ways in which acculturation and change are either accepted or resisted. George Shaftel, "The Needs and Anxieties of Spanish-Speaking Students," *CalJSE* 28 (1953): 168, discusses one set of typical reactions. Evon Z. Vogt, "A Study of the Southwestern Fiesta System as Exemplified by the Laguna Fiesta," *AA* 57 (1955): 820-839, gives an extremely interesting and important description and analysis of the image held by Anglos, Spanish-speaking, and various Indian groups of the fiesta. Further information on the fiestas, but not an analysis of their function, may be found in "Spanish Fiestas in New Mexico," *El Palacio* 51, #6 (June, 1944): 101-106; the article is unsigned. Charles P. Loomis, "Ethnic Cleavage in the Southwest as Reflected in Two High Schools," *Sociometry* 6 (1943): 7-26, uses sociometric methods to measure social distance among various age groups with interesting results; additional research of this type, perhaps carrying the measurements beyond the school age, could be invaluable. Professor Loomis has also contributed another aspect of the change process in "Wartime Migration from the Rural Spanish-Speaking Villages in New Mexico," *Rural Sociology* 7 (1942): 384-395, which concerns the depopulation of 24 Spanish-speaking villages as a result of war work, armed service, and other new work, leaving both the villages and the surrounding farmers who depended upon the village laborers in a new situation. Paul A. F. Walter, Jr., "The Spanish-speaking Community in New Mexico," *SSR* 24 (1939-1940): 150-157, examines the impact of another change in conditions—the depression. Other useful data may be found in the following:

Austin, Mary, "Mexicans and New Mexico," *Survey Graphic* 56 (1931): 141-144. A short commentary on the Spanish-speaking and their

- history, by a long-time resident in the area; more romantic than scientific.
- Jones, Robert C., "Mexican American Youth," *SSR* 32 (1947-1948): 793-797. A criticism concerning the mishandling of the youth problem, in part as a result of the lack of trained personnel fluent in the Spanish language.
- Murray, (Mrs.) Mary Katherine, "Mexican Community Service," *SSR* 17 (1932-1933): 545-550. Functions of a community service organization operated through the school in a Spanish-speaking community.
- Roller Issler, Anne, "Good Neighbors Lend a Hand," *Survey Graphic* 32 (1943): 389-393. A somewhat starry-eyed version of migrants helping in a harvest in 1943.
- Roy, James, "The Life and Times of Minera, Texas," *SWHQ* 49, #4 (April, 1946): 510-517. An excellent short article on a small town near Laredo on the Rio Grande.
- Tetreau, E. D., "The People of Arizona Irrigated Areas," *Rural Sociology* 3 (1938): 177-187. Among those on the irrigated farms were Spanish-speaking; this group had the largest completed families.
- Weeks, O. Douglas, "The Texas-Mexican and the Politics of South Texas," *APSR* 24 (1930): 606-627. A pioneer and rather unsatisfactory work in a field which has been virtually untouched. Although it is generally recognized that the Spanish-speaking take little active part in politics as a group, few research projects have been undertaken to ascertain the reasons for this lack of participation.

Discrimination

Comment has already been made concerning the pattern of discrimination against the Spanish-speaking. That stereotypes increase social distance was rather conclusively proved by Paul Hatt, "Stereotypes and Minority Group Conflict," *SSR* 31 (1946-1947): 110-116, in a well-designed piece of research. Norman D. Humphrey described some of the elements in "The Stereotype and Social Types of Mexican-American Youths," *JSPsy* 22 (1945): 69-78, and Edward C. McDonagh, "Status Levels of Mexicans," *SSR* 33 (1948-1949): 449-459, found that in a group of 1700 Anglo students the Mexicans ranked lowest of the nine ethnic groups listed; "Mexican" was not defined for the purposes of the survey or the article. Eugene S. Richards essentially replicated the survey, with the same results, in obtaining the data for his "Attitudes of College Students in the Southwest toward Ethnic Groups in the United States," *SSR* 35 (1950-1951). Some years earlier, in the same journal, William Albig, "Opinions Concerning Unskilled Mexican Immi-

grants," *SSR* 15 (1930-1931): 62-72, reported the results of a survey in Flint, Michigan, among 40 neighbors of recent Mexican immigrants; the majority of those interviewed were of Slavic or other Eastern European origin. Virtually all of those interviewed showed a distinct prejudice against the Mexicans in the vicinity.

John H. Burma reviewed the conditions of the Hispanos of New Mexico in his "The Present Status of the Spanish-Americans in New Mexico," *Social Forces* 28 (1949-1950): 133-138, and pointed out the discriminatory patterns existing. O. Douglas Weeks, "The League of United Latin-American Citizens: A Texas-Mexican Civic Organization," *SWSSQ* 10 (1929-1930): 257-278, described the constitution, purposes, functions and activities of the *Lulac*, an organization largely devoted to the prevention of discriminatory practices. The work and the effectiveness of the organization could well be more fully, and more recently, covered. V. E. Strickland and George I. Sanchez, "Spanish Name Spells Discrimination," *The Nation's Schools*, January, 1948: 22-24, describes and deplores discrimination in the schools, while W. Henry Cooke, "The Segregation of Mexican-American School Children in Southern California," *School and Society* 67 (1949): 417-421, covers the same subject. Emory S. Bogardus, "The Mexican Immigrant and Segregation," *AJS* 36 (1930-1931): 74-80, found a close correlation between segregation, discrimination and the failure to apply for citizenship. Harold A. Shapiro, "The Pecan Shellers of San Antonio, Texas," *SWSSQ* 32 (1951-1952): 229-244, covers the same ground as that covered by Menefee and Cassmore in their earlier monograph, but his emphasis is more on the unsuccessful 1937-1938 strike.

Other journal articles relative to the Spanish-speaking in the United States are:

- Bailer, Lloyd H., "Organized Labor and Racial Minorities," *Annals* 274 (March, 1951): 101.
Bailey, Wilfrid C., "The Status System of a Texas Panhandle Community," *TJS* 5 (1953): 326-331.
Barker, George C., "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community," *Acta Americana* 5 (1947), 185-202.
Barker, Ruth L., "Where Americans are Anglos," *NAR* 228 (1929): 568-573.
Carter, Hugh and Bernice Doster, "Social Characteristics of Aliens From the Southwest Registered for Selective Service during World War II," *INSM* 7 (1951): 88-94.

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- Pearce, Thomas Matthews, "The English Language in the Southwest," *NMHR* 7 (1932): 210-232.
- Read, Benjamin M., "In Santa Fe during the Mexican Regime," *NMHR* 2 (1927): 90-97. Life in Santa Fe before the coming of the Anglos, told with nostalgia by one of the minority group.
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CHAPTER V

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM MEXICO

The previous chapter, devoted to the Spanish-speaking in the United States, included more than passing reference to the immigrant and his place in American society; the emphasis there was on the immigrant as a permanent resident in the United States and the minority status he was forced to accept once he crossed the border. There are other aspects of the immigration problem, however, which are to be covered in the present chapter. As has already been pointed out, the separation between the Spanish-speaking citizen or long-resident alien on the one hand and the casual migrant on the other is always difficult and sometimes impossible; accordingly, the following discussion will include reference to a number of the works cited in another context, inasmuch as many authors either have failed to make a distinction or have treated both groups together.

Mexican immigration to the United States falls into three major categories. Those who migrated to this country through their own resources, entered the United States legally under very generous laws, and sought jobs on their own initiative once in the United States fall into one large category. Many of those who came under this system remained in the country as resident aliens, with or without taking the necessary legal steps to obtain that category, while many more—probably the majority—returned ultimately to the towns and villages whence they came. This was the dominant pattern of migration from the turn of the century, when rather large-scale migrations began, until the beginning of World War II; there continues to be, at the present, a considerable movement of this character. The second category has been that of the "bracero": the legal entrant coming under the specified conditions, meeting specified standards of physical condition, journeying with his fellows to fulfill contractual obligations in the United States, and with legal obligations to return to Mexico within a specified time. The two governments concerned have been active participants in the programs, undertaken as a result of a labor shortage in this country coincidental with the Second World War, and the conditions governing the migration have

been determined through diplomatic negotiations. The vast majority of the migrants have been farm laborers, but under some conditions there have been special provisions for non-agricultural braceros; the migrants have gone to many states outside the border area, and if a sufficiently large group goes to any particular region there are often religious advisors and counsellors accompanying them. The state of Michigan, the heaviest user of braceros outside of the border states, has had an annual mean average of over ten thousand over the past eight or ten years. The Mexican government, jealous of the rights and prerogatives of its nationals, and anxious to prevent exploitation or discrimination, has on occasion refused to allow braceros to go to some states or regions; such a proscription against Texas in 1943 was responsible for the establishment of the Texas Good Neighbor Commission.

The third category, and in recent years the most numerous, has been the illegal migrant. The man who wades or swims the Rio Grande, or the "alambrista" who walks across the international boundary between the Rio Grande and the Pacific, is generally referred to as the "wetback"; he has no legal right to be in this country and therefore is to some degree beyond the protection of either government. He is in great demand as an agricultural laborer in the border states where his activities tend to depress wages, and he usually returns to Mexico after one harvest. Both governments frown on his illegal entry, but neither government has found a way to prevent his coming and neither government is willing to take the stringent punitive measures necessary to discourage the practice. The nature of the migration makes an accurate measurement of its size impossible, with the estimates ranging from half a million to three times that amount annually; a fairly justifiable assumption is that the number is roughly a million persons, the majority of whom make Texas the first point of contact within the United States.

Books and Monographs

Immigrants

Immigration of Mexicans should be put in the proper perspective of total immigration, which has been the subject of a great deal of literature. The outstanding works on immigration in general, with emphasis on the European migrant, were done by Marcus Lee Hansen, who unfortunately died before completing his studies; his two published works on the subject, *The Atlantic*

Migration, 1607-1860 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940. 391 pp.) and *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940. 230 pp.) are nevertheless considered to be classics in the field. Carl Wittke's *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. 547 pp.) is equally well-known. Three more specialized works, not as widely read but important nevertheless, are Carter Lyman Goodrich, *et al*, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936. 780 pp.), Edith Abbott, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem: Select Documents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926. 881 pp.), and Edith Abbott, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records* (University of Chicago Press, 1924. 809 pp.). One of the recurring themes in any discussion of immigration, whether of European or of American origins, has been its effects on the morals of the resident population; David A. Orebaugh, *Crime, Degeneracy, and Immigration: Their Interrelations and Interreactions* (Boston: R. G. Badger, 1929. 272 pp.), examines this particular question. Gerald Shaughnessy, *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith: A Study of Immigration and Catholic Growth in the United States, 1790-1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1925. 289 pp.) concerns the religious affiliations of the immigrants, and the degree to which those affiliations were retained after arrival.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the United States maintained a policy of virtually unrestricted immigration, but near the turn of the century many individuals began to have serious reservations regarding the practice, and after the conclusion of the First World War a policy of drastic restriction began. Among the proponents of restriction there was general agreement concerning the advantages and disadvantages of accepting immigrants from the various countries outside of the American continents, but there was little consensus regarding the question of applying restrictions relative to the other American nations. The Secretary of Labor therefore requested that a study of the subject be made; the result was Robert Franz Foerster's *The Racial Problems involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the United States* (Washington: G.P.O., 1925. 62 pp.).

It was not until the debate concerning Mexican immigration had become heated that there was any serious attempt to analyze the nature, size, and effects of the free movement from Mexico to the United States. The first such analysis came from a Mexican

sociologist working with financial aid through the University of Chicago. The result of his labors is considered to be a classic in the field of methodology as well as analysis. Manuel Gamio's *Mexican Immigration to the United States* (University of Chicago Press, 1930. 262 pp.) is devoted to a study of the cultural background, the problems, and the geographic origins of the migrant; in a magnificent piece of painstaking detective work, Gamio determined that the well-spring of immigration was the Jalisco-Michoacán-Guanajuato region. In a companion piece, *The Mexican Immigrant, His Life Story: Autobiographic Documents Collected by Manuel Gamio* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 288 pp.), Gamio transmuted the immigrant from a cipher to a person. While the Mexican scholar was engaged in his research, an economist from the University of California made related studies; Paul S. Taylor's works have already been referred to in a number of connections, but the importance of his publications warrants repetition here. Of particular value are his *A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community*, his *An American-Mexican Frontier*, and his series under the general title of *Mexican Labor in the United States*. The latter series, published between 1928 and 1932, appeared as Volumes 6 and 7 of University of California Publications in Economics; the sub-titles and the page references are: *Imperial Valley* (6: 1-94), *Valley of the South Platte* (6: 95-235), *Migration Statistics* (6: 237-255), *Dimmit County, Winter Garden District, South Texas* (6: 293-406), *Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (7: 1-24), and *Chicago and the Calumet Region* (7: 25-284). They are all extremely important even though they were published a generation ago; a new study, covering the same areas, at this time would be invaluable. From the same period come two less important works: Emory S. Bogardus, *The Mexican in the United States* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1934. 126 pp.) and Enrique Santibáñez, *Ensayo acerca de la inmigración mexicana en Los Estados Unidos* (San Antonio: Clegg and Co., 1930. 105 pp.).

Since the Taylor-Gamio era there has been little serious work in monographic form on the general topic of Mexican immigration; the tendency has been to concentrate what little has been done on either the bracero or the wetback. Carey McWilliams gives some attention to the situation in both his *Ill Fares the Land*, previously cited, and his *Factories in the Field: The Story of the Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1939. 334 pp.), but in both cases the discussion of the Mexican

immigrant was merely incidental to his discussion of the question of migrant labor in general.

The Bracero Movement

The bracero movement has not received the attention which its importance—socially, economically, and politically—warrants; the few monographs covering the subject are either outdated, incompletely descriptive, or obviously biased. One of the best is Robert C. Jones's short *Mexican War Workers in the United States, 1942-1944* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1945), but it covers only the beginning of what has proved to be a continuing program; the monograph is also published in Spanish. Jones did further valuable work in his short *Selected References on the Labor Importation Program between Mexico and the United States* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1948. 7 pp.), which should be consulted if research is to be undertaken in the field. Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: Lippincott, 1948. 324 pp.), devotes a portion of one chapter to the braceros, but only in order to make his point of discriminatory practices.

Ernesto Galarza, *Strangers in Our Fields* (Washington: Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, 1956. 80 pp.), is a valuable but not exactly unbiased account. The publishing group is an official committee of ORIT, and its interest was primarily the examination of the manner in which contractual obligations were fulfilled; United States and Mexican labor organizations have objected strenuously to certain aspects of the program, and Galarza's work constitutes justification for those objections. His conclusions, which have been hotly denied (but unfortunately not in easily accessible monographic form) by the employers of the braceros, indicate that the braceros are exploited, that they are not paid the wages contracted for and therefore depress the wage level for United States nationals, that the workers are given little or none of medical care demanded by the program provisions, that the housing is completely unsatisfactory, and that the general program has been a colossal failure in all respects save that of cheap harvesting. Most of Galarza's data come from California.

Another interesting, but slanted, monograph comes from Mexico. José Lázaro Salinas, in *La emigración de braceros: Visión objetiva de un problema mexicano* (Mexico: Privately printed, 1955. 204 pp.), addresses himself to the Mexican end of the program administration and to the effect the program has had on some as-

pects of Mexican economy. Salinas rejects the contention that the movement of braceros to the United States has curtailed Mexican agricultural production through a lessening of the labor supply; agricultural production has declined, he contends, as a result of banking practices rather than labor migration. The administration of the program, at least in the areas of Jalisco which he investigated, is corrupt and inefficient.

The nature of the bracero question is scarcely more adequately covered in article form, as will be seen later in this chapter, than it is covered in monographs; it is therefore quite clear that basic research in the area is desperately needed. Many questions should be answered. Some of the more obvious concern the effects on both United States and Mexican economy, particularly with respect to labor and agriculture, the effects on acculturation of the Spanish-speaking residents of the United States, the effects on culture change in Mexico, the patterns of political maneuvering in both Mexico and the United States, and the effects of the program on attitudes toward both countries by the nationals of the other. The bracero movement is not completely a border phenomenon, but it is the border area which is the chief recipient of the migrant in the United States and the site of the principal collection centers in Mexico.

Illegal Migration

Literature relative to the wetback, the illegal entrant, is no more satisfactory than is that concerning the bracero; the quantity is less and the quality only slightly better. Two serious attempts have been made to analyze the situation in a restricted area—the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. Eastin Nelson and Frederic Meyers, *Labor Requirements and Labor Resources in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1950. 33 pp. Inter-American Education Occasional Papers VI), is devoted to an examination of the influence of the illegal migration upon labor and wages in the area under consideration. The seasonal nature of labor requirements in the Valley does not fluctuate as greatly, the authors found, as it is normally supposed; the available resident labor supply could be fully utilized throughout the year with only slight lapses, and only during the cotton picking season is there need for extensive additions. But the supply of illegal entrants is always available; their questionable status, coupled with the level of economy from which they come, tends to lower the wage level to such a degree that there is a major dif-

ferential between wages there and in other parts of the state. This results in a heavy exodus of the resident laborers (who then become migrants) which drains off the available resident labor supply and tends to justify the demands by Valley farmers for unlimited immigration.

Lyle Saunders and Olen Leonard, *The Wetback in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), emphasize particularly the flow and distribution of the illegal entrant; they are less concerned with his economic or social importance, but of course both are mentioned.

Lyle Saunders and George I. Sanchez, *Wetbacks: A Preliminary Report to the Advisory Committee, Study of Spanish-Speaking People* (Austin: University of Texas, 1949. 39 pp. mimeographed), does not pretend to be a scientific or objective analysis, but merely an indication of the nature and extent of the problem, and as such inferentially suggests lines of research. *What Price Wetbacks* (Austin: Texas State Federation of Labor (AFL), 1953. 59 pp.), by Ed. Idar and Andrew C. McClellon under the sponsorship of the American G. I. Forum of Texas, is frankly a very strong case against the wetback movement. The cost is reckoned in terms of disease, crime, work efficiency, economic activity and other items; although biased and presented to prove a point of view, some of the data are highly valuable. The most useful portion is a comparative analysis of retail sales in Lubbock (outside of the wetback area) and McAllen (a center for such labor) during the cotton harvesting season; Lubbock sales increased enormously, while McAllen sales declined precipitously in 1952 and 1953, the years for which records were used.

The dearth of sound literature and the magnitude of the problem indicate large areas of needed research. No serious effort has been made, by competent researchers, to determine with any degree of accuracy the numbers involved in the annual migration; the estimates are based upon insufficient evidence taken from the Border Patrol or from impressions gathered by watching the phenomenon. The impact on the economy, as compared to like impacts by braceros or resident agricultural migrants, has not received sufficient attention, even though such studies could be undertaken with some assurance of accuracy in results. The relationships between the bracero and wetback movements, in terms of cultural influence and a variety of other factors, need investigation. Since so little has been done with respect to the question, the possible areas for research are virtually endless.

Government Publications

The United States Government has published innumerable documents concerning immigration in general and Mexican immigration in particular. These range from hearings on the various pieces of legislation to reports by government agencies relative to the need for law or to the enforcement of law or international understanding. Generally speaking, the government publications are food for research rather than the results of such research; qualified scholars in government employ, of course, have done some fine fundamental research, but in the main these publications have appeared under the name of the author. As is the case with all the sections of this guide, the government publications given here are indicators only—indicative of the type of publication which can be found through the use of the proper guides. For the purposes of demonstration, a selected group of documents dealing with the bracero movement has been chosen:

United States Department of State, *Agreement Regarding Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers, signed at Mexico, D. F., August 4, 1942* (Washington: G.P.O., 1942. Executive Agreement Series 278.) The original agreement relative to conditions and responsibilities, outlining the terms in detail, under which the migrant was to come to the United States.

— *Agreement on the Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers to the United States, effected by Exchanges of Notes signed at Mexico City, April 26, 1943* (Washington: G.P.O., 1943. Executive Agreement 351). The first agreement was amended in the light of experience.

— *Agreement Regarding the Recruiting of Mexican Non-Agricultural Workers, effected by Exchange of Notes signed at Mexico City April, 1943.* (Executive Agreement Series 376.) This separate agreement was made concerning unskilled non-farm labor; although the general provisions were roughly the same, the agreements differed in particular details.

— *Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers. Agreement between the United States . . . and Mexico superseding Agreements of April 26, 1943 and March 10, 1947* (Washington: Department of State, 1950. 19 pp. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1968). This little booklet serves very well as a most convenient guide to the needs of the migrants while in the United States, and of the various devices utilized by the two governments to give maximum protection against exploitation and other unpleasantness. The Agreement became effective on February 21, 1948.

— *Mexican Agricultural Workers. Legal Employment of Certain workers who entered the United States Illegally. Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico . . . entered into force March 10, 1947* (Washington: Department of State, 1949. 10 pp. Treaty Series 1857). This agreement constituted an attempt by both governments to discourage the wetback movement through the stipulation of difficult conditions under which an illegal entrant could legally obtain work.

President's Commission on Migratory Labor, *Report: Migratory Labor in American Agriculture* (Washington: G.P.O., 1951). In view of the size of the migratory labor movement, and in view of the many bitter objections being raised by both United States and Mexican nationals concerning the bracero program, President Truman appointed a Commission to investigate the entire field of migratory labor, with emphasis on the braceros. This is the most nearly complete and satisfactory account of the situation.

Two publications by the Government of Mexico have been selected; both concern the protection of Mexican nationals emigrating to the United States:

Mexican Government: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *La Migración y protección de Mexicanos en el extranjero: Labor de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores en Estados Unidos de América y Guatemala* (Mexico: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1928). A general and rather short account of the efforts made, through diplomatic channels, in behalf of Mexican nationals who were in some way mistreated; since the greater number of such migrants were coming to the United States, the major portion of the account deals with this country.

— *La protección de Mexicanos en Los Estados Unidos* (Mexico: Talleres gráficos de la Nación, 1940. Compiled by Ernesto Hidalgo). Agreements and provisions for such protection; this does not include the much more important and elaborate provisions developed as a result of the bracero movement.

Three publications by state governments are worthy of mention:

California. Mexican Fact Finding Committee, *Mexicans in California* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1930).

New Mexico. State Department of Public Welfare, *Study of Migratory Labor* (Albuquerque: New Mexico Department of Public Welfare, 1940. Mimeographed).

Texas. State Employment Service, *Origins and Problems of Texas Migratory Farm Labor* (Austin: Texas State Employment Service, 1940).

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

Theses in the field of Mexican immigration are scarce. Julius Rivera, *Contacts and Attitudes Toward the United States in a Mexican Border Community* (Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1957), concerns the village of Sonoyta, Sonora, only a short distance from Ajo, Arizona. According to Rivera the community has grown to its present size of 1300 as a result of the emigration movement, and its continued existence depends upon contact with the United States. Favorable attitudes toward the United States are inversely correlated with economic standing, and seem to have no correlation with length of stay or frequency of visits in the United States.

Two other studies dealing with Mexican communities are worthy of consideration:

Armstrong, John M., Jr., *A Mexican Community: A Study of the Cultural Determinants of Migration* (Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, 1949).

Dirks, Dempster, *Selected Social and Cultural Characteristics of La Paz, Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1955).

Articles in Journals

Some of the same generalizations concerning the literature in monographic form could be repeated here with respect to the journals; generally speaking, it is not extensive and, in spite of occasional excellent exceptions, it is not of high objective caliber. Furthermore, many of the more valuable articles have been cited in the chapter on the Spanish-speaking people in the United States, and will not be repeated here.

General

Robert Redfield, "The Antecedents of Mexican Immigration to the United States," *AJS* 35 (1929-1930): 433-438, is a preview of Gamio's findings which were published in monographic form at approximately the same time; Redfield's article is a convenient summary, with some comments of his own regarding the validity and implications of Gamio's work. Gabriel W. Lasker, in a much more recent set of articles, has examined some of the physical aspects of the migrant. In "Environmental Growth Factors and Selective Migration," *HB* 24 (1952): 262-289, he reports that the migrants from the Paracho region in Michoacán who came to the

United States at a relatively early age and remained for a number of years have definitely larger bodily measurements than those who remained in Paracho. In "The Question of Physical Selection of Mexican Migrants to the United States," *HB* 26 (1954): 54-58, he reports that there is no conclusive evidence that physical measurements are a major factor in either self-selection or agency selection for migration. In both pieces the migrants selected for comparison with the sedentes were those who had returned to the Paracho region and were residing there in 1948 when the studies were made.

Paul S. Taylor, in a short "Note on Streams of Mexican Migration," *AJS* 36 (1930-1931): 287-288, plotted the sending and recipient areas. The Winter Garden District of Texas received most of its migrants from northeast Mexico, the states bordering on Texas. The migrants who went to Chicago tended to come from the Central Plateau, and those who went to the Imperial Valley tended to come from the West Coast (Sonora and Sinaloa), from the Central Plateau, and from the Northeast in that order of proportion. Emory S. Bogardus, "Mexican Repatriates," *SSR* 18 (1933-1934): 169-176, examined the opposite side of the picture—those who went back. Between January 1, 1930, and May 1, 1933, the period of greatest repatriation, nearly 300,000 Mexican nationals who had been resident aliens in the United States returned to Mexico. Bogardus estimated that nearly 80% of them returned to their original villages, 15% went to urban centers in Mexico, and the remaining 5% went to repatriation centers or colonies established by the Mexican Government; he does not indicate the statistical basis for his estimates.

Professor Bogardus, at the height of the debate in the 1920's concerning restrictions on Mexican immigration, analyzed the arguments presented by opponents and proponents. In "Mexican Immigrants and the Quota," *SSR* 12 (1927-1928): 371-378, he indicated that labor leaders, public health officials, school officials and leaders of the resident groups of the Spanish-speaking favored restrictions. All of these groups, according to Bogardus, felt that the problems of the resident nationals were sufficiently grave, and that large scale immigration would aggravate the situation. The opponents of restriction carried the day however; the numerical results of unrestricted immigration may be found conveniently summarized in "Increase in Mexican Population in the United States, 1920-1930," *MLR* 37 (July, 1933: 46-48).

The following articles are also of some utility:

- Humphrey, Norman D., "Some Marriage Problems of Detroit Mexicans," *App Anthropol* 3 (1944): 13-15. Because Humphrey's work has no counterpart in the border area, the relevance of his findings to the border situation is not clear.
- Miller, Herbert Adolphus, "The Oppression Psychosis and the Immigrant," *Annals* 93 (January, 1921): 139-144.
- Slayden, James L., "Some Observations on Mexican Immigration," *Annals* 93 (January, 1921): 121-126.
- Taylor, Paul S., "Historical Note on Dimmit County, Texas," *SWHQ* 34 (1930-1931): 79-90. The county developed as an agricultural center in part because of the availability of Mexican immigrant labor.
- Walker, Helen W., "Mexican Immigrants as Laborers," *SSR* 13 (1928-1929): 55-62. In spite of the title, the emphasis is on the social problems created in California by the presence of the Mexican immigrant; only a small portion concerns the labor pattern of the immigrant, and that small part is impressionistic, based on isolated expressions by employers.
- Wood, Samuel E., "California's Program of Immigrant Education," *CalJSE* 11 (1936-1937): 90-97. A survey description of the nature and extent, with some attention to the success, of the program.
- "The Mexican Immigrant," *Annals* 93 (January, 1921): 131-133. An editorial.

Braceros

Journal literature on the bracero movement is not rich, but there are a number of items which are helpful, particularly in indicating points of view. A general review of the principal provisions of the 1942 and 1943 agreements between the United States and Mexico may be found in convenient form, in either Spanish or English, in the *Revista Internacional de Trabajo* or its English language equivalent. "Migración temporal de la los trabajadores mexicanos a Los Estados Unidos," *RIT* 28 (1943-1944): 437-439, or "Temporary Migration of Mexican Workers to the United States," *ILR* 48 (1943-1944): 375-377, covers the subject in succinct form. Wilbert E. Moore's "American Migration Treaties during World War II," *Annals* 262 (March, 1949): 31-38, has been mentioned in another context. Some of the special interests may be found in the following:

- Roas, L. de la, "Ministry of Public Health and Welfare of Mexico on Sanitary Problems of Mexicans Living in the United States," *BOSP* 27, outlines the concern for living and health conditions of the migrants.
- Romualdi, Serafino, "Hands Across the Border," *AmFed* 61, #6

(June, 1954): 19, is a short statement on the official position taken by the AFL with regard to the bracero movement; labor wanted representation on inter-governmental commissions concerned with the negotiations of conditions, and the AFL insisted that the braceros have the right to organize.

McWilliams, Carey, "They Saved the Crops," *InterAm* 2, #8 (August, 1943): 10-14. Here McWilliams is concerned with the beneficial effects of the program; he makes no mention of the less attractive features which became so much a part of his later writings.

Roller Issler, Anne, "Good Neighbors Lend a Hand," *Survey Graphic* 32 (1943): 389-393. A completely favorable account, written in connection with the harvest of 1943 in one California county.

López Malo, Ernesto, "The Emigration of Mexican Laborers," *Ciencias Sociales* 5 (1954): 220-227. Some of the effects of such emigration on Mexico.

"El Exodo de nuestros braceros mexicanos," *RevEcon* 6, #2 (February 28, 1943): 24-26. An unsigned article, the basic theme of which is that it would be unwise to prohibit worker migration to the United States, but that very careful regulations concerning both numbers and types should be adopted by the Mexican Government to prevent adverse effects on the national economy.

Coalson, George O., "Mexican Contract Labor in American Agriculture," *SWSSQ* 33 (1952-1953): 228-238.

On the wetback issue there is little to be added; no objective report or analysis has been found; as is to be expected, the few available articles stress the evils and are written in somewhat flamboyant style. H. L. Mitchell, "Unions of Two Countries Act on Wetback Influx," *AmFed* 61, #1 (January, 1954): 28, reviews the proposals made by both United States and Mexican labor organizations for the protection of the wetbacks, estimated by Mitchell to be something over a million annually. Art Liebson, "The Wetback Invasion," *Common Ground*, Autumn, 1949: 11-19, Hart Stillwell, "The Wetback Tide," *Common Ground*, Summer, 1949: 3-14, and Carey McWilliams, "California and the Wetback," *Common Ground*, Summer, 1949: 15-20, all stress the magnitude of the problem and the dire consequences to be expected unless proper controls are instituted.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY

Legitimately the bibliographer could list all materials dealing with the subject under consideration as a part of the "history," since the historian is assumed to be the interpreter of the total society; a competent and conscientious historian uses the scholarly productions of his colleagues in other disciplines, and the materials of his art, or craft, come from the anthropologist and the economist as well as from the politician and the casual observer. A bibliographical listing on that assumption, however, would be of minimum use, and yet it is felt that a section devoted to history is both useful and mandatory. Limits, therefore, have been put on the nature of the material to be included in this section; the prime criterion has been the nature, rather than the subject matter, of the work. Publications or research papers which are the products of professional historians, or of persons momentarily acting primarily as professional historians, are considered to be history even though the subject matter has an economic or social orientation. On the other hand, the works of analysts or interpreters of events or conditions contemporary with the writer are generally included in another section of this guide; there are, in the following citations, a few exceptions to this criterion, but they have been held to a minimum and are included only because they seem to fit better in a historical section than in any other. Furthermore, an attempt has been made to organize the material according to geographical sections or political subdivisions, with the United States side of the border receiving first consideration in each instance.

Books and Monographs

The United States—General

Any consideration of the historical development of the region must start with a rather clear idea of the basic pattern established by the Spanish, even though this guide is designed to cover material dealing with the period after Mexican independence only. Much of the territory now considered as being the "border" was virtually isolated from the remainder of Mexico until the middle of the nineteenth century, at which time much of it became politi-

cally separated from that nation. It is important, therefore, to be cognizant of some of the basic institutional developments during the colonial period. Herbert E. Bolton's *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916. 487 pp. Other editions in 1925 and 1930), deals only with the 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries, but it is from these centuries that many of the patterns of life, particularly in New Mexico, directly spring. Bolton's *Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921. 320 pp.) is somewhat more concerned with institutional development than is the former work cited and brings the chronology nearer the limits of this guide, but its basic coverage concerns the colonial period prior to 1800. Frank Wilson Blackmer, *Spanish Institutions in the Southwest* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1891. 353 pp.), represents one of the first attempts to examine the basic institutional patterns to which the modern Spanish-speaking people are the direct heirs and with which the later Anglo-American institutions and concepts came in contact. Upon the foundations laid by these three great works, virtually all subsequent scholarship regarding the history of the area has been at least partially constructed.

Familiarity with Spanish institutional development, however, meets only one of the requirements for general knowledge of the border area; the Anglo-American movement into the area also had great influence and must be seen in perspective. The literature on the history of the Southwest is enormous; the intent here is merely to indicate a few of the most outstanding works. Certainly the king of all historical works on the west and southwest as a unit is Walter Prescott Webb's imaginative and creative *The Great Plains* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931. 525 pp.). Webb does not ignore the Spanish influence on the institutions of the Great Plains, or the impact of that geographic setting on the Spanish, but his major emphasis is on the interplay of Anglo-American institutions with plains geography and climate. He brings something new to historical writing and historical interpretation; he brings creativity and sensitivity. History, in his hands, is an art. Closely approaching *The Great Plains* in perception and clarity is Henry Nash Smith's more recent *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. 305 pp.). Together, these magnificent works of the institutionalist and the humanist make a compact package of exciting reading.

More prosaic and less stimulating, but excellent nevertheless,

are the works of Ray Billington, Rupert N. Richardson and Carl Coke Rister, all eminent historians in whose accuracy one can have absolute confidence. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York: Macmillan, 1949. 873 pp.) is concerned with frontier rather than west or southwest. An examination of the area under consideration, therefore, becomes but an incident in a flow and not an end in itself. Rupert Norval Richardson and Carl Coke Rister, *The Greater Southwest* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1934. 506 pp.), is a solid work dealing with the entire area, far beyond the border regions as here defined. Two more pointed works by Professor Rister are valuable; the subtitle gives a good indication of the coverage of his *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881: A History of the Coming of the Settlers, Indian Depredations and Massacres, Ranching Activities, Operations of White Desperados and Thieves, Government Protection, Building of Railways, and the Disappearance of the Frontier* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1928. 336 pp.). Interspersed with the major theme of the frontier is a secondary thread of border conditions, particularly with respect to the activities of the Plains Indians and their raids. Rister's *Southern Plainsmen* (Norman, Oklahoma: 1938. 289 pp.), uses a segment of the plains to illustrate and demonstrate life on the entire Great Plains; his geographic focus is just south of the Platte River. Rupert Norval Richardson is particularly interested in the impact on settlement patterns by one of the Plains Indian groups: *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1933. 424 pp.) is particularly important for a picture of the efforts to control the Comanches along the border.

Of a completely different nature is Paul Horgan's *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1954. 2 volumes). In a clear and lucid style, even an exciting style, Horgan uses hundreds of episodes to trace the historic events along the lengthy watercourse. The Rio Grande itself is the focal point—and therein lies the greatest weakness of the work, for often the river is vested with an importance which it did not have, and just as often items were forced into the framework of the river-focus when a different scheme could have been much more telling. Laura Gilpin has also used the Rio Grande as a fulcrum in her much less valuable *The Rio Grande, River of Destiny. An Interpretation of the River, the Land, and the People* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949. 243 pp.); it is a mag-

nificent documentary of the river along its nearly two thousand mile course. But aside from the photographs, the book is virtually valueless. Albert N. Williams, *The Water and the Power: Development of the Five Great Rivers of the West* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1951. 378 pp.) is concerned with the development of power and water sites, with no attention given to any international complications resulting. The Rio Grande and the Colorado are included.

Gun-slingers and cattlemen have been the subject of enough literature, good and bad, to fill a large library; two of the best examples of each have been chosen for inclusion here. Dave Coolidge, *Fighting Men of the West* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1932. 343 pp.), is unique in that his field of interest took him into northern Chihuahua; the part dealing with the mines, particularly with the 1906 Cananea strike and *rurales* Colonel Emilio Kosterlitsky who came riding to the rescue of the mine owners, adds significantly to the knowledge of the region. Jess G. Hayes, *Apache Vengeance: The True Story of the Apache Kid* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954. 185 pp.), is completely sympathetic to his principal character, an Apache scout with the United States Army who "went bad," killed an officer and escaped across the border to Mexico. Edward E. Dale, *Cow Country* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. 258 pp.) is a delightfully written account of the beginnings and development of the cattle industry and C. L. Sonnichsen, *Cowboys and Cattle Kings* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 316 pp.) deals with the day-in day-out experiences of those involved in cattle ranching. The emphasis is on contemporary conditions, with enough historical perspective to make the work a first-rate study, and not a light-weight travelogue.

Edward E. Dale has also given us an excellent account of the Indian policy of the United States Government in his *The Indians of the Southwest: A Century of Development under the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1949. 283 pp.), in which he reviews all major aspects of that policy, with its problems, its difficulties, and its shortcomings. Loring Benson Priest is also concerned with Indian Policy, but in a more limited time space, in *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of the United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942. 310 pp.). Paul I. Wellman's *The Indian Wars of the West* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1947. 484 pp.) is well written.

Robert Lee Hunt, *A History of the Farmer Movements in the*

Southwest—1873-1925 (College Station, Texas: Texas A. and M. Press, 1935. 192 pp.), departed rather radically from the general theme of cowboys and Indians, and in so doing should have set both pattern and precedent; unfortunately, the prosaic and the mundane have been the subject of only a few works.

Mexico—General

As has already been mentioned in another context, the Mexican side rarely has been the subject of monographs dealing with the region as a whole; we are forced, as a consequence, to utilize more general works and to extract from them the information we seek. Again we are confronted with a task of selection, for any history of Mexico will make some reference to the northern frontier region; and again, the number of items selected are few, chosen because of some particular pertinence the work may have to the central core of this guide.

Among the most valuable, even though the coverage in years is short, are two under the authorship of Daniel Cosío Villegas, *Historia Moderna de México. La República Restaurada: La Vida Política* (Mexico and Buenos Aires: Editorial Hermes, 1955. 979 pp.) and *Historia Moderna de México. La República Restaurada: La Vida Económica* (Mexico and Buenos Aires: Editorial Hermes, 1955. 812 pp.). The second of these was written by a young economist with the Banco de México, Francisco R. Calderón, under the general direction of Cosío Villegas. In each volume there is pointed reference to the border region, either by states or by area. The works cover the period after the Maximilian episode and prior to the Díaz regime. Jesús Romero Flores, in his multi-volume *Anales Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico: Ed. "El Nacional," 1939-1940. 5 volumes) gives great attention to the border region inasmuch as the Revolution began there and much of the fighting took place in the border states. Emilio Portes Gil, *Quince Años de política mexicana* (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1941. 575 pp.) is both historian and chronicler; since much of his political life was centered in Tamaulipas, the northern region receives more than passing mention.

Falling into a different category are two topical studies. Fred Wilbur Powell, *The Railroads of Mexico* (Boston: The Stratford Co., 1921. 226 pp.), surveys the history of railroad development, economic and political influences on the railroads, the influence of rail development on economic and political policies, and the fortunes of the railroads during the Revolution. In view of the im-

portance of the railroads to the northern districts insofar as contact with the rest of Mexico was concerned, Powell covers an important aspect of border history. Edwin Walter Kemmerer, *Inflation and Revolution: Mexico's Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. 173 pp.) is only obliquely interested in the border region. Falling into somewhat the same category is Arthur P. Whitaker (ed.), *Mexico Today: A General Picture of the Objectives and Achievements of our Southern Neighbor* (*Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, volume 208, March, 1940. 252 pp.). This entire issue, save the book department, is devoted to Mexico, and for that reason is cited with the monographs rather than with the journal articles. It consists of 13 articles, or chapters, by various authorities in their fields; while none of the parts deals specifically with the border, many of them touch on conditions in that region.

In a special category is John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narratives of Explorations & Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, during the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1856. 2 volumes). Both history and chronicle of the work of the commission which was designated to survey the boundary, the work includes excellent historical material with respect to the Mexican states mentioned.

The United States—Texas

Very few good state histories have appeared with respect to the border areas, and the monographs regarding Texas are no exception to this general rule. The writings fall into two major categories, with a few works not included in either. The tendency has been either to write rather dull history about the politics of the state, with great emphasis on the Republican period (the major purpose of which is to keep alive the myth of provincialism), or to play the tune of great badmen, great law enforcers, or great cattlemen. There is little interpretation and little imagination in most of the accounts. That there could be much of both is amply demonstrated by Walter P. Webb's delightful *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1935. 584 pp.). Not in the same class with his *Great Plains*, his work on the Rangers nevertheless gives, with a sense of humor and with sensitivity, a clear picture of the manner in which a law enforcement agency developed to meet the peculiar conditions of the area.

Probably the best of the general histories of Texas is Rupert Norval Richardson, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (New York: Prentice-Hall Co., 1943. 590 pp.). The research was meticulous and painstaking, the writing characteristic of the genre; it is good, straightforward, text-book style history, about half of which covers the period after 1876. An older and more voluminous work is Louis J. Wortham, *A History of Texas* (Fort Worth: Wortham-Molyneaux Co., 1924. 5 volumes), which is encyclopedic in its approach. Some parts of Eugene C. Barker's *Readings in Texas History for High Schools and Colleges* (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1929. 653 pp.) are both interesting and valuable; this is particularly true with respect to the development of farming, as distinct from ranching, in West Texas. Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage, 1519-1936* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1936-1950. 6 volumes) is much more than a history of the Catholic Church in the region; it is an exhaustive and biased history of the state, the major portion of which concerns the period before the Texas Revolution.

Of a slightly different character is Rubén Rendón Lozano's little *Viva Texas: The Story of the Mexican-born Patriots of the Republic of Texas* (San Antonio and Houston: Southern Literary Institute, 1936. 50 pp.). One of the recurring themes of Texas historical appraisal is that the Texas Revolution was justified not as a rebellious movement of Anglo-Americans against Mexicans, but as a movement of a constitutional-minded and liberty-loving people against a tyrannical central government; the fact that there were a few prominent Mexicans taking an active part in the rebellion is consistently cited as proof of the point, and Lozano plays the oft-repeated theme with little originality. Samuel Harman Lowrie, *Culture and Conflict in Texas, 1821-1835* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 189 pp.) at least attempts original synthesis, but the most original part of the book is its title.

Frank C. Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Co., 1917. 200 pp.), made a valiant attempt to portray the Texas side of the Lower Rio Grande Valley as a distinct unit between Mexico and the United States, as a sort of middle ground upon which the opposing cultural ideas met and clashed. But the result was a cataloging of wars, raids and battles; it is more useful as the raw material for historical interpretation than as a historical synthesis in itself. A better work covering the same area, but one which also has its weaknesses, is Florence Johnson Scott, *Historical Heritage of the Lower*

Rio Grande: A Historical Record of Spanish Exploration, Subjugation and Colonization of the Lower Rio Grande Valley and the Activities of José Escandón, Count of Sierra Gorda, together with the Development of Towns and Ranches under Spanish, Mexican and Texas Sovereignities, 1747-1848 (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1937. 246 pp.). Coleman McCampbell, *Saga of a Frontier Seaport* (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1934. 167 pp.), is the history of Corpus Christi from 1845 to 1923; the primary emphasis is on the development of the port itself rather than on the region which the port served.

A healthy departure from the type of history discussed above has been a group of monographs addressed to the social and economic situation; unfortunately, the quality is roughly the same. Lewis W. Newton and Herbert P. Gambrell, *A Social and Political History of Texas* (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1932. 422 pp.) is text-bookish, but it does have the advantage, from the point of view of the subject matter here considered, of viewing the border situation as important to the development of the state as a whole. Ralph W. Steen, *Twentieth Century Texas: An Economic and Social History* (Austin: The Steck Co., 1942. 370 pp.) is a general socio-economic presentation of a standard brand; Steen makes no attempt at analysing the peculiar social or economic conditions of the border area. William Ransom Hogan, *The Texas Republic: A Social and Economic History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946. 338 pp.), is a well-documented presentation of modes of living, dress, housing, recreation, religion, health, and manners and customs. The factual presentation is excellent, the interpretation non-existent. William Curry Holden, *Alkali Trails: or, Social and Economic Movements of the Texas Frontier, 1846-1900* (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1930. 253 pp.), has roughly the same orientation, but it is not as well done as Hogan's study.

Roscoe C. Martin, *The People's Party in Texas: A Study of Third Party Politics* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1933. 280 pp.), is probably the best of the studies here mentioned in its effort to analyse the political parties as a social phenomenon. A portion of the work is devoted to a discussion of the influence of racial and cultural mixing on the fortunes of the Populist Party; Martin's conclusion is that the party operated most effectively in areas in which the social situation was not complicated by such mixing. Seth Shepard McKay, *Texas Politics, 1906-1944* (Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1952. 486 pp.), is comprehensive, but not outstandingly imaginative.

Two economic studies are worthy of consideration. S. G. Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads and of Transportation Conditions under Spain and Mexico and the Republic and State* (Houston: The St. Clair Publishing Co., 1941. 822 pp.), is a thorough study of railroads which were built and those which were planned or begun but never finished. Alden Socrates Lang, *Financial History of the Public Lands in Texas* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 1943. 262 pp. The Baylor University Bulletin, XXXV, No. 3), was written long before the public lands scandals of the post-World War II period rocked the state. The work is basically a study of the public lands as a system or source of public revenue.

Charles Goodnight, one of the pioneers of the Texas cattle industry, has been the subject of two rather above ordinary biographies, though neither of the works has outstanding merit. Laura V. Hamner, *No-Gun Man of Texas: A Century of Achievement, 1835-1939* (Amarillo: Laura V. Hamner, [1935]. 256 pp.), is a eulogy which stresses the virtues of the man rather than the nature of the country and the industry. Much better is J. Evetts Haley, *Charles Goodnight, Cowman and Plainsman* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1936. 485 pp.), from which the rancher emerges as a part of the land which he helped develop. But Goodnight has not been the only rancher to receive attention. William Curry Holden's *Rollie Burns: or, An Account of the Ranching Industry on the South Plains* (Dallas: Southwest Press, 1932. 243 pp.) presents the history of a ranch in the vicinity of Lubbock; the emphasis is on ranch life rather than on the men involved or the industry itself. J. Evetts Haley also contributed *George W. Littlefield, Texan* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943. 287 pp.), which is inferior to his *Goodnight*. But the best of the older books on ranching is Haley's *The XIT Ranch of Texas and the Early Days of the Llano Estacado* (First published, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1929. It was withdrawn after large libel suits were filed, and has been reissued in revised form by the University of Oklahoma Press, 1953). Even better is Tom Lea's beautifully illustrated *The King Ranch* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957. 2 volumes) the first volume of which covers Captain King's life, the second the ranch in later years. Definitely within the border region, the King Ranch has had a material influence on the region politically and economically.

C. L. Sonnichsen, *Roy Bean: The Law West of the Pecos* (New York: Macmillan, 1943. 207 pp.) and Duncan W. Robinson, *Judge Robert McAlpin Williamson, Texas' Three-Legged Willie* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1948. 230 pp.) are the best

biographies of two famous, or notorious, judges of the nineteenth century. Bean, at Langtry, Texas, near the border, held for many years the only court in the Big Bend. Jack Martin's *Border Boss: Captain John R. Hughes, Texas Ranger* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1942. 236 pp.) leaves much to be desired but is as good as any other biography of a single Ranger; Captain Hughes was known as "Border Boss" because of his enforcement activities along the Rio Grande. Dora Neill Raymond, *Captain Lee Hall of Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. 350 pp.) is of roughly equivalent value, but the readability is considerably greater. Captain Dan W. Roberts of the Rangers acted as chronicler, autobiographer, and historian in his *Rangers and Sovereignty* (San Antonio: Wood Printing and Engraving Co., 1914. 190 pp.), but he was a better Ranger than historian. Much more recently, B. Roberts Lackey, Captain Roberts' nephew, reworked and paraphrased the book in his *Stories of the Texas Rangers* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1955. 105 pp.).

A welcome change from ranchers and rangers are the works of Sister M. Lilliana Owens, who has given two examples of the fact that history of the Southwest can include more than the heroic deeds of plainsmen, that there is a frontier other than that of the physical advancement of men. For her protagonists, Sister Lilliana chose two members of the Society of Jesus; for her subject she has chosen spiritual activities. Both *Carlos M. Pinto, S.J., Apostle of El Paso* (El Paso: Revista Católica Press, 1951. 228 pp.) and her more comprehensive *Most Reverend Anthony J. Schuler, S.J., D.D., First Bishop of El Paso, and Some Catholic Activities in the Diocese between 1915-1942* (El Paso: Revista Católica Press, 1953. 584 pp.) are virtually unique in the literature of the region; both are important works, though somewhat limited.

A number of fairly useful, but not extremely important, historical sketches of local communities are available. Representative are the following:

- Chabot, Frederick C., *Texas Letters* (San Antonio: Yanaguana Society, 1940. 188 pp. Yanaguana Society Publications V). Early years of San Antonio, particularly before 1855.
- Chabot, Frederick C., *With the Makers of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Privately printed, 1937. 411 pp.). Genealogies of the early families, including Spanish-Mexican, Anglo-American, and German. A brief historical sketch of the city.
- Da Camara, Kathleen, *Laredo on the Rio Grande* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1949. 85 pp.). An unsophisticated account,

- including comment on commercial and educational development.
- Heusinger, Edward Warner, *A Chronology of Events in San Antonio, being a Concise History of the City Year by Year from the Beginning of its Establishment to the End of the First Half of the Twentieth Century* (San Antonio, Texas: Standard Printing Co., 1951. 111 pp.).
- Hunter, Marvin J., *Pioneer History of Bandera County* (Bandera, Texas: Hunter's Printing House, 1922. 287 pp.). Isolated biographical sketches and events, 1852-1892.
- James, Vinton Lee, *Frontier and Pioneer Recollections of Early Days in San Antonio and West Texas* (San Antonio: Privately printed through Artes Gráficas Press, 1938. 210 pp.). Chronicle and history, somewhat pedestrian, with some good comments on conditions.
- Kelsey, Anna Marietta, *Through the Years: Reminiscences of Pioneer Days on the Texas Border* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1952. 179 pp.).
- Manning, Wentworth, *Some History of Van Zandt County* (Des Moines: The Homestead Co., 1919. 220 pp.). Largely reminiscences.
- Philips, Shine, *Big Spring: The Casual Biography of a Prairie Town* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1942. 231 pp.). Readable and amusing, with some spots of real value; West Texas could scarcely be considered to be "prairie."

New Mexico

The theme of New Mexican historical writing is distinctly different from that of Texas, and in one respect it does not have the monotonous quality of that which comes from its neighbor. Probably the best reference work on New Mexico is Ralph E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1911-1917. 5 volumes), but a history should not be an encyclopedia. Vying with Twitchell is Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889. 829 pp.). All of Bancroft's works have been looked upon with some jaundice, largely as a result of the manner in which the work was done, but they have all stood the test of time remarkably well. Both Twitchell and Bancroft covered the period prior to New Mexico's real importance as a member of the Federal Union, and therefore both have this inherent weakness. Much better than either, from the standpoint of interpretations and for the subject of border conditions, is John Henry Vaughan, *History and Government of New Mexico* (State College, New Mexico: Published by the Author, 1921. 369

pp. Republished, State College: C. L. Vaughan, 1927. 377 pp.); it is especially important for its coverage of ethnic relations to the time of publication.

Two Spanish-speaking residents of New Mexico have given their efforts to the task; though both works are long out of date, they both have the value of being an attempted interpretation, with some imagination and sensitivity. Francisco de Thomas, *Historia popular de Nuevo México, desde su descubrimiento hasta la actualidad* (New York: American Book Company, 1896) and Benjamin Maurice Read, *Historia ilustrada de Nuevo México* (Santa Fe: Campaña Impresora del Nuevo Mexico, 1911. 616 pp.) are worth consulting. George Wharton James, *New Mexico: The Land of the Delight Makers* (Boston: The Page Company, 1920. 469 pp.) was, at the time it was written, one of the best of the books on New Mexico history. Although not as well integrated as one would ideally want, the book has great merit in its treatment of the various aspects of New Mexican life, including such diverse subjects as irrigation and art.

The single book which many commentators accept as the best work on New Mexico, a judgment with which this writer tends to agree, is Erna Fergusson's *New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples* (New York: Knopf, 1952. 192 pp.). An historical commentary, *Pageant* is a work of sensitive art, of perceptive and even gentle—but not romantically sentimental—interpretation. It is probably the finest interpretative book concerning any state in the border region.

Other works of lesser value:

Fulton, Maurice Garland and Paul Horgan, *New Mexico's Own Chronicle: The Three Races in the Writings of Four Hundred Years* (Dallas: Upshaw and Company, 1937. 372 pp.).

Hammond, George P. and Thomas C. Donnelly, *The Story of New Mexico: Its History and Government* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1936. 331 pp.). An historian and a political scientist team together to produce a simplified but usable survey.

Prince, L. Bradford, *A Concise History of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1912. 272 pp.). By a past president of the New Mexico Historical Association.

Workers of the Writer's Project of the Works Project Administration in the State of New Mexico, *New Mexico: A Guide to the Colorful State* (New York: Hastings House, 1940. 458 pp.). The first 172 pages of this guide, one of the best of the series, is devoted to a solid and concise survey of state history.

Thomas, Alfred B. (ed.), *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932. 420 pp.). Illuminating reports and correspondence of a governor in the late 18th century.

Specialized and local studies, some good and some indifferent but none outstanding, are:

Boyd, Nathan E., *New Mexico and Statehood* (Washington: Judd and Detweiler, printers, 1902. 47 pp.). A short plea for granting statehood to New Mexico, and a discussion of the Culberson-Stephens bill regarding the impounding of the waters of the Rio Grande by New Mexico.

Chase, C. M., *The Editor's Run in New Mexico and Colorado* (Montpelier: Printed at the "Argus and Patriot" Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1882. 233 pp.). Reports on stock raising, agriculture, territorial history.

Chávez, Manuel, *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period* (Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1954. 339 pp.). A good demonstration of Hispano pride and sensitivity.

Grant, Blanche Chloe, *When Old Trails Were New: The Story of Taos* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1934. 344 pp.). Taos was a rendezvous town for the free trappers; here some of the most important events in the development of the town, from early colonial times to the contemporary period, are told.

Hagerman, Herbert J., *A Statement with Regard to Certain Matters Concerning the Governorship and Political Affairs in New Mexico in 1906-1907* (Roswell, New Mexico[?]: Printed for Private Circulation, 1908. 112 pp.). A plea of "innocent" by a governor who had been removed from office.

Inman, Col. Henry, *The Old Santa Fe Trail: The Story of a Great Highway* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1897. 493 pp. Reprinted in 1899 and 1916 by Crane and Company, Topeka, Kansas).

Keleher, William A., *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868* (Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, 1952. 534 pp.). Generally concerned with the various military movements, including the Civil War and Indian campaigns.

Kupper, Winifred, *The Golden Hoof* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. 203 pp.). Cattle ranching has caught the fancy of the American public, but sheep raising had its dramatic side, too.

Otero, Miguel Antonio, *My Life on the Frontier* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1935-1939. 2 volumes). A sometimes sharp and sometimes rambling account of Otero's life and observations before he became governor. One suspects that many of Otero's "memories" were aided by written accounts.

- Otero, Miguel Antonio, *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940. 404 pp.). Otero was a successful governor—but his administration was not the unqualified success which he would have us believe.
- Owens, Sister M. Lilliana, *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867-1882* (El Paso: Revista Católica Press, 1950. 176 pp.). Of the same quality as her two Texas biographies previously cited.
- Prince, Le Baron Bradford, *New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood: Sixty Years of Effort to Obtain Self-Government* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Co., 1910. 128 pp.). A chronicle of a frustration, published shortly before New Mexico achieved statehood.
- Stratton, David H., *The First Century of Baptists in New Mexico, 1849-1950* (Albuquerque: The Woman's Missionary Union of New Mexico, 1954. 121 pp.).
- Thompson, Albert W., *The Story of Early Clayton, New Mexico* (Clayton, New Mexico: *The News*, 1933. 96 pp.). Reminiscences of an early settler in the northeastern part of the state.
- Twitchell, Ralph E., *History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851* (Denver: Smith-Brooks Co., Publisher, 1909. 394 pp.). Includes biographical sketches of most of the men in the New Mexican government circles during those years.
- Twitchell, Ralph E., *Old Santa Fe: The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Publishing Co., 1925. 488 pp.).

Arizona

The Arizona counterpart of Twitchell's *Leading Facts* is Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix: [printed by the Filmer Brothers Electrottype Co., San Francisco], 1915-1918. 4 volumes). Farish was the official historian for the state. Hubert Howe Bancroft covers Arizona in the same volume that is devoted to New Mexico. The most useful history of Arizona, and the best from point of scholarship, is Rufus K. Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State* (Phoenix: Hobson and Herr, 1950. 408 pp.). The WPA state guide includes 170 pages of good but not exciting history and commentary.

Publications dealing with special topics:

- Barnes, Will C., *Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1935. 503 pp.). Over five hundred place names are included in this volume of interesting local history.
- Lake, Stuart, *Wyatt Earp, Frontier Marshall* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1931. 392 pp.). Lake's work is conceded to be the best biography in print concerning a western gunman or peace officer,

but it has not stilled the controversy over Earp's real character. But unlike most such biographies, Lake gives a good picture of general conditions in the region during the period.

McClintock, James H., *Mormon Settlement in Arizona* (Phoenix: Published by the author, 1921. 307 pp.). A straight historical account of the settlement, with no discussion of the doctrinal status or relations with the remainder of the society as a result of doctrinal differences.

Summerhayes, Martha, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of my Army Life* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1939. 337 pp. Edited by Milo M. Quaife. Other editions: Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1908. 269 pp.; Salem, Massachusetts: The Salem Press Co., 1911. 319 pp.).

California

Only a few of the historical studies dealing with California have been selected, since most of the writings relative to the state concern areas and questions which have no significance for the border. The most exhaustive is still Bancroft's seven volumes (volumes 18-24 of his *Works*) on the state, even though they were published over half a century ago. In addition to the volumes on the history, three other Bancroft volumes should be consulted. His *California Pastoral* (volume 34 of his *Works*) and his *Popular Tribunals* (volumes 36 and 37 of his *Works*) have much data relative to southern California and some material concerning Arizona, New Mexico, and northern Mexico.

The most convenient historical synthesis of the state's history is John W. Caughey, *California* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. 680 pp. Revised edition 1953. 666 pp.). Three books by Robert Glass Cleland are also quite good, perhaps equal to Caughey's. Each has a nice balance between economic, political, and social factors: *From Wilderness to Empire: A History of California, 1542-1900* (New York: Knopf, 1944. 388 pp.) and *California in Our Time, 1900-1940* (New York: Knopf, 1947. 320 pp.) are distinct studies within themselves, but together constitute a two-volume history of the state. The only great weakness of the second of the two is that there is insufficient attention to the implications and effects of Mexican immigration and the growth of the Spanish-speaking population. His *A History of California: The American Period* (New York: Macmillan, 1922. 512 pp.) is much like the others in approach and organization. More pertinent to this particular study is W. W. Robinson, *Ranchos Become Cities* (Pasadena: San Pasquel Press, 1939. 243 pp.), since it deals with southern California only. Beginning with Portolá's settlements in 1769, Robinson traces the de-

velopment of that section from the establishment of small, isolated farms or "ranchos" through the growth of towns to the urbanization of large sections which existed at the time of writing. A slightly different approach to the same area is Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880* (Revised and enlarged 2nd edition, San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1951. 365 pp.). Cleland's major emphasis is the disappearance of the cattle ranches as the orchards and farms displaced them.

Special topics of interest:

Cahn, Frances and Valeska Bary, *Welfare Activities of Federal, State and Local Government in California, 1850-1934* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936. 422 pp.). Primarily interesting for what it does not say about welfare activities among the Spanish-speaking; the Spanish-speaking generally have been reluctant to depend on welfare agencies, even during the depth of the Great Depression.

Cook, S. J., *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilizations* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943. 4 volumes. Ibero-Americana Nos. 21-24). A comparison between the Spanish and the Anglo influences on the Indians of Southern California.

Mexican States—Tamaulipas

The histories concerning the Mexican border states are more limited and in general of a lesser quality than those concerning the states on the United States side of the boundary. In recent years there has been encouragement in Mexico to the writing of state and local history, with prizes to be awarded for outstanding manuscripts, but to date little has been accomplished as a result. The most satisfactory history of Tamaulipas is Gabriel Saldívar's *Historia compendiada de Tamaulipas* (Mexico: Editorial Beatriz de Silva, 1945. 358 pp.), but it is far from exhaustive or conclusive. Chronicle rather than history, the work is a convenient source for certain kinds of data, including a complete list of governors—colonial and national—and the dates of their terms in office. Slightly inferior to Saldívar is Ciro de la Garza Treviño, *Historia de Tamaulipas* (no place or publisher given, 1946), as is Adalberto I. Argüelles, *Reseña del Estado de Tamaulipas*, an official history described in Chapter 3. A cut below these is Arturo González, *Resúmenes de la historia de Tamaulipas* (Linares: Imprenta de "El Trueno," 1908). Ezequiel Padilla, in *Las nuevas ideales en*

Tamaulipas (Mexico: Talleres Gráficas de la Nación, 1929. 89 pp.) was more interested in eulogizing Emilio Portes Gil as state governor than he was in writing objective history, but the eulogy had some justification and the booklet is well-written.

An extremely interesting brace of works concerning twentieth century developments in Tamaulipas comes from an agrarian group. Marte R. Gómez compiled and edited the *Primera convención de la Liga de Comunidades Agrarias y Sindicatos Campesinos del Estado de Tamaulipas*, 1926 (no place or publisher given, [1928]. 292 pp.) and the *Segunda convención . . .*, 1927 (no place or publisher given, [1929]. 340 pp.). The publications consist primarily of reports from various ejidal delegations, detailing their experiences in requesting and obtaining their community lands, and the status of those lands at the time of the conventions.

Before Tamaulipas became a state it was the colony of Nuevo Santander; in view of the dearth of relevant material concerning historical development in the state, and as a background against which to project available non-historical writings, the person interested in the region could profit from reading Laurence F. Hill, *José de Escandón and the Founding of Nuevo Santander* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1926. 149 pp.). Some additional information concerning Tamaulipas may be gleaned from Florence Johnson Scott, *Historical Heritage of the Lower Rio Grande Valley* (cited in this chapter under Texas), but the coverage is sketchy and generally unsatisfactory.

Nuevo León

Nuevo León has been, in many respects, the Mexican border state of greatest importance to the United States, even though it is contiguous to its Anglo neighbor for only a few miles. Its significance lies in its communication system and in Monterrey's industrial capacity. No satisfactory history of the state has been written; the only thing which even approaches such a category is Santiago Roel, *Nuevo León; Apuntes históricos* (Monterrey: Talleres Linotipográficos del Estado, 1938. 2 vols.), but the useful data are hard to extract from a poorly organized work which makes little attempt at integration or interpretation. David A. Cossío, *Historia de Nuevo León* (Monterrey: [Private], [1927]. 294 pp.) is straight narrative history with some charm, but his primary—and virtually only—concern is with various kinds of military struggles—against Indians, against foreign invaders, against the central government, among themselves, etc.—with the result that the reader looks in

vain for any information concerning social, economic or political change. About half the book deals with the period prior to independence, and only a few pages with the period after 1900. José P. Saldaña's two works, *Episodios históricos* (Monterrey: Impresora del Norte, 1948. 198 pp.) and *Episodios contemporáneos* (Monterrey: n.p., 1955. 201 pp.) are somewhat autobiographical in character and tend to emphasize local history rather than state-wide events. Although of limited utility, both books are of some value for complete coverage of the state. Of less usefulness is Antonio Morales Gómez, *Cronología de Nuevo León, 1527-1955* (Mexico: Editorial Benito Juárez, 1955. 292 pp.). Hector González, *Siglo y medio de cultura nuevoleonense* (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1946. 384 pp.) is both bibliographical and historical inasmuch as it consists of a listing and discussion of the works of state authors. The discussions contain little of real criticism regarding the books on his list; the major value of the work, and one certainly not intended by the author, lies in its demonstration of the paucity of serious scholarship in Nuevo León.

One of the more interesting aspects of Mexican historical literature on Nuevo León has been the marked tendency of the writers to produce more concerning the city of Monterrey than concerning the state at large, and this in spite of the fact that the average *nuevoleonense* demonstrates a fierce state pride, or at least a reasonable facsimile thereof. The attraction for Monterrey as a subject probably stems from the fact that historically the city has completely dominated the state, and even as late as 1950 nearly half of the total state population resided in the Monterrey municipality. Even with this emphasis on the city in history, however, the result is disappointing to the serious scholar. Vito Alessio Robles, one of Mexico's most renowned historians, contributed *Monterrey en la historia y en la leyenda* (Mexico: Robredo, 1936. 266 pp.), a highly literate, interesting but not profound work. Israel Cavazos Garza, *El muy ilustre ayuntamiento de Monterrey desde 1596* (Monterrey: n.p., 1953. 222 pp.) is little more than a listing of the alcaldes and regidores, even though a short introductory essay does give a summary of the city's development. The most prolific writer on Monterrey has been Carlos Pérez-Maldonado, who produced four books on the city during a four-year period. The first of these was *La Ciudad Metropolitana de Nuestra Señora de Monterrey* (Monterrey: Imp. Monterrey, 1946. 344 pp.), written and published in honor of the 350th anniversary of the founding; in addition to the history of the city, Pérez-Maldonado gives a description

of most of the historical sites in the municipality. The following year he produced *El Obispado: Monumento histórico de Monterrey* (Monterrey: Impresora del Norte, 1947. 261 pp.), in which the history of Monterrey's most famous landmark is outlined. The Bishop's Palace is not only a source of great pride to the *regiomontano*; it is a symbol of the Church-state struggle. The same year saw the appearance of Pérez-Maldonado's *Monterrey: Cosas poca conocidas acerca de este nombre y de su heráldica* (Monterrey: [Vidrio Plano], [1947]. 62 pp.), of primary interest to those who find heraldic designs, their growth and meaning, exciting. Pérez-Maldonado's most significant work was *El casino de Monterrey: Bosquejo histórico de la sociedad regiomontana* (Monterrey: n.p., 1950. 252 pp.). The Casino, founded in the late nineteenth century, is an exclusive social club—but within its walls many important political decisions have been made since its founding. Pérez-Maldonado uses the Casino as a focal point for discussing Monterrey social life, which he does generally at a rather superficial level. Occasionally, however, he shows insight regarding social function and status roles.

Three other historical works should be mentioned; all are collections of documents:

González, J. Eleuterio, *Colección de noticias y documentos para la historia del Estado de N. León* (Monterrey: Tip. de Antonio Mier, 1867). The documents are tied together by a narrative.

Roel, Santiago, *Correspondencia particular de D. Santiago Vidaurri, Gobernador de Nuevo León, 1855-1864* (Monterrey: Imp. Monterrey, 1946. 264 pp.). The first of a projected multi-volume set, useful for local history as well as for national history during the Juárez period, the work is published under the auspices of the University of Nuevo León.

Pérez-Maldonado, Carlos, *Documentos históricos de Nuevo León. Segunda Serie, 1812-1821* (Monterrey: n.p., 1948. 216 pp.). Although the period covered is somewhat earlier than that covered in this guide, these documents give some insight into the development of the *norteño* feeling. The first series covered the period prior to 1812.

Coahuila

There is no satisfactory history of Coahuila for the recent period, but Vito Alessio Robles' *Coahuila y Texas desde la consumación de la independencia hasta el Tratado de Paz de Guadalupe Hidalgo* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1946. 2

volumes) fully covers the period to 1848. Miguel Alessio Robles adds some information with his *La Ciudad del Saltillo* and his *Perfiles del Saltillo* (annotated in Chapter 3); and a multitude of works concerning the Mexican Revolution give some of the history of the state during that period, since Venustiano Carranza was governor of Coahuila when he began his constitutionalist movement. Eduardo Guerra, *Historia de la Laguna; Torreón: su origen y sus fundadores* (Torreón: privately printed, 1932. 366 pp.) is a mundane presentation, as is Pablo C. Moreno, *Torreón a través de sus presidentes municipales* (Mexico: Editorial Patria, 1955. 140 pp.); the latter consists of a page or two description of events during the administration of each municipal president between 1888 and 1957. The *Anuario coahuilense para 1886* (Saltillo: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1886. 562 pp.) compiled by Esteban L. Portillo and edited by Amado Prado, includes a section devoted to the history of the state. Finally, the various *Informes* and *Memorias* published by the governors include some historical interpretation as well as contemporary data; generally speaking, those after 1920 are considerably better than those before that date.

Coahuila has been one of the most important of the border states, and in the twentieth century has contributed more than its share to national leadership. In view of its importance, it is regrettable that the history of the area has been so poorly treated; particularly lacking are a solid work on the development and influence of the mining industry in the vicinity of Rosita and Múzquiz, and a close examination of the part Coahuila played in the development of national anti-clerical policies.

Chihuahua

As the historian moves into the region of Chihuahua history he finds a slight improvement in the historical fare, both in quality and in quantity, over that which he sampled in Tamaulipas, Nuevo León and Coahuila. Much of the history of Chihuahua is told, partially at least, in accounts dealing with the Mexican Revolution and the border raids; these publications will be considered separately, but the searcher should at this point be made aware of their existence. In publication chronology, the first account to deal with the history of Chihuahua appears in Hubert Howe Bancroft's two-volume *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (Volumes 15 and 16 of his *Works*), but the coverage extends only to 1888 and is completely unsatisfactory even for the period covered. Enrique González Flores, *Chihuahua de la independencia a*

la revolución (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1949. 223 pp.) is one of the best of the Mexican state histories and gives satisfactory coverage up to 1900; its greatest weakness is a complete lack of critical regard for events, particularly with respect to the activities of the Terrazas and Creel families. José María Ponce de León's little *Resumen de la historia de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Imp. Gutenberg, 1922. 81 pp.) is essentially a chronological listing of events from the colonial period to 1921; it is convenient as reference, deadly as history. Akin to Ponce de León's work is Francisco R. Almada, *Gobernantes de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Tall. Linotipográficos del Gobierno del Estado, 1929. 123 pp.), a convenient guide of governors, members of the legislature, judicial authorities, and other high officials from 1822 to 1929, but of little value otherwise. With all their weaknesses, Ponce de León and Almada are fairly accurate, a term which unfortunately cannot be applied to Joaquín Márquez Montiel, *Hombres célebres de Chihuahua* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1953. 304 pp.). This work, a sort of "Who Was Who" of the state, consists of a large number of short biographical sketches and as such should be of real value; but it is so filled with errors (one glaring and incomprehensible example of which is the statement that Pascual Orozco did not cooperate with Huerta, but imposed exile on himself when the Revolution started) that it is too risky to use.

Chihuahua has, in González Flores' work, produced one of the most acceptable state histories, and has also been responsible for one of the best biographies. José Fuentes Mares, . . . *Y México se refugió en el desierto: Luis Terrazas, historia y destino* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1954. 298 pp.) perhaps treats Terrazas with more sympathy than a Mexican Revolutionist would like, and he does not give as much social and economic data as some would desire, but the publication is a good biography of high literary quality. Of roughly the same literary quality and sensitivity, but generally not as useful to the scholar, is Alberto Rembao, *Chihuahua de mis amores y otros despachos de mexicanidad neoyorkino* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1948. 304 pp.). Francisco R. Almada, *Apuntes históricos de la región de Chínipas* ([Chihuahua], [privately printed], 1937. 452 pp.) concerns a small community in the sierra near the Sonora border. One final convenient source for state history is the governors' messages to the legislature, normally published as separate items. Those delivered between 1849 and 1906, however, were conveniently consolidated in *Informes que los Gobernadores del Estado de Chihuahua han presentado ante el Congreso del mismo*,

desde el año de 1849 hasta el de 1906 (Chihuahua: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1911).

Sonora

Sonora, long somewhat isolated from the main stream of Mexican political and economic development, has played an increasingly prominent part in both during the twentieth century, chronologically first in the political realm and more recently in economic affairs. Change in Sonora has probably been more rapid than in any other Mexican state. Eduardo Villa is Sonora's outstanding historian, both in terms of quality and quantity; his *Compendio de historia del Estado de Sonora* (Mexico: Editorial "Patria Nueva," 1937. 447 pp.) is an adequate job upon which he improved in his *Historia del Estado de Sonora* (Hermosillo: Edit. Sonora, 1951. 443 pp.). The greatest weakness of both studies, at least from the standpoint of evaluating recent border conditions, is the paucity of coverage for the twentieth century—precisely while greatest change was occurring. Not as literate as González Flores' similar work on Chihuahua, *Historia del Estado de Sonora* nevertheless compares favorably with the *chihuahuense's* opus. In Sonora intellectual circles Enriqueta de Parodi stands alongside Villa; many of her literary productions have been non-historical, but she has published one relatively significant work on Sonora history; *Sonora, hombres y paisajes* (Mexico: Editorial Pafim, 1941. 222 pp.), contains a series of short essays on intellectual, political and economic currents (the treatment of the latter two being somewhat unsophisticated) and a number of biographical sketches. Many of these sketches concern men long disappeared from the Sonora scene, but the majority of her subjects were still living at the time she wrote; her pen was too kind to most of them. A few years after Parodi's work appeared, Eduardo Villa published *Galería de sonorenses ilustres* (Hermosillo: Imprenta Impulsora de Artes Gráficas, 1948. 222 pp.), a series of forty-three biographical sketches in which the reputation of none of the biographees was even faintly stained. Since his subjects included Cajeme and Corral as well as Obregón and Maytorena—sets of bitter antagonists—one may well question Villa's critical judgment. Ramón Corral, of somewhat justified ill-fame in both Sonoran and Mexican national history, could be quite charming; his charm is particularly demonstrated in his highly laudatory *El General Ignacio Pesqueira: Reseña histórica del Estado de Sonora (desde 1856 hasta 1877)* (Hermosillo: Imprenta del Estado, 1900. 133 pp.). It is poetic justice, or perhaps

injustice, that Pesqueira's sons were instrumental in destroying everything for which Corral stood.

Lest one be left with the impression that all writing on Sonora is of a laudatory nature, we must mention Clodoveo Valenzuela and Amado Chaverri Matamoros, *Sonora y Carranza; obra de la mas amplia información gráfica y periodística del último movimiento libertario respaldada por gran número de valiosos documentos, hasta hoy desconocidos, que entregamos a la historia* (Mexico: Casa editorial "Renacimiento," 1921. 522 pp.). "The late liberating movement" was the de la Huerta-Obregón revolution against Carranza in 1920, and the authors did everything they could to picture Carranza as the devil incarnate. While the major implications of the work deal with the national scene, many of the documents and much of the connecting essay give valuable insights into Sonora political and social attitudes. Roberto Acosta, *Apuntes históricos sonorenses. La conquista temporal y epiritual del yaqui y del mayo* (Mexico: n.p., 1949. 137 pp.) deals only with the colonial period, but the subject he treats was important until relatively recent years. In spite of Acosta's optimistic title implying that the Yaquis and Mayos were both physically and spiritually conquered at an early period, relations between these two groups and the national government were difficult and occasionally violent until after the Revolution; the issues were the same as they were during the colonial period. Of the various governors' reports to the legislature, the most useful is that compiled by Lorenzo Garibaldi concerning the administration of Ramon Yocupicio (Hermosillo: Imp. "J. C. Gálvez," 1939. 384 pp.), in spite of its propagandistic overtones.

From the standpoint of historical craftsmanship, with its implications of sensitive handling of documents, of interpretations, of accuracy, of establishing the interrelationships of sundry factors, the best Mexican work on Sonora history is Manuel González Ramírez, *La Huelga de Cananea* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956. 154 pp.). The bulk of the book is documents relative to the 1906 strike which started William C. Greene on his skidding downfall and which became a symbol of Díaz oppression of labor; but the work also has a forty-five page introduction—with separate Roman pagination—which puts the strike in historical perspective. The result is a thoroughly competent job, even though some historians will take issue with some of his interpretations.

The only significant monograph in English on Sonora history during the national period is Rufus Kay Wyllys, *The French in*

Sonora (1850-1854): The Story of French Adventurers from California in Mexico (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932. 319 pp.). The French adventurers were encouraged by certain Mexican officials, as check against the rumored sale of Sonora to the United States (Gadsden had instructions to buy all of Sonora, as well as most of Chihuahua, if he could do so) on the one hand and against the Walker filibusters in Baja California on the other. Whether France supported the expedition is questionable, but the expedition was, like Walker's Baja California scheme, a complete fiasco. For further sources on this question the reader should consult the three books, annotated in the chapter dealing with diplomacy, written by Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas, Horacio Sobarzo and Maurice Soulié. For other such adventures in Sonora, reference is made to the works of Ainsa and Forbes also annotated in the diplomacy chapter.

One of the more interesting bits of historical propaganda and misinterpretation is José Angel Espinoza, *El ejemplo de Sonora* (Mexico: n.p., 1932. 395 pp.). Espinoza was trying to prove a point: that the Sonora policy of violent anti-Orientalism not only was justified but should have been copied by the other Mexican states. During the process of making his pitch he showed an unusual ability for perverting the historical method; as history, *Ejemplo* is virtually worthless, but as a document which unconsciously demonstrates border bigotry it is excellent.

A final reference on the state's history: Carlos Manuel Pellecer, *Tierra ancha y rebelde (Sonora)* (Guatemala: n.p., 1949. 114 pp.). Pellecer, a rural school teacher in the Mexican state, gives an account of his experiences and his impressions.

Baja California

Baja California, the northern part of which is the most recent Mexican Territory to achieve statehood, is a desolate and forbidding land, almost isolated from the rest of Mexico and relatively isolated from the rest of the world—with the exception of the extreme northern section abutting upon the United States. A reflection of its isolation is to be found in the quantity and the nature of the historical writings concerning it; these may be characterized in two words: scarce and poor. Peveril Meigs III gives us a fairly decent account of *The Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. 231 pp.) concerning the colonial period, Arthur Walbridge North conceives of Baja California as *The Mother of California* (annotated in

chapter on description and geography), and Manuel Torres Iglesias gives us a short and unimaginative *Historia del Territorio Sur de la Baja California* (Mexico: Ed. El Nacional, 1956. 95 pp.). Added to these are two volumes of *Documentos para la historia de la Baja California* (Mexico: Tall. Gráficos de la Nación, 1940, 1946) collected and edited by Jorge Flores D. Except for the materials dealing with Walker's abortive expedition into the territory, this exhausts the useful historical monographs on the peninsula.

A word should be inserted here concerning the need for further historical research and writing concerning the north Mexican States. Perhaps one of the reasons for the dearth of serious monographs on the states in question has been the even, almost sleepy, tenor of life in the northern region during most of the colonial period and throughout the nineteenth century. To be sure, there were occasional flashes of activity, particularly with respect to political events, in Sonora, Chihuahua, Nuevo León and Coahuila. Nineteenth century Mexico, though, revolved around the central states; it was here that the major decisions of policy were made, it was here that the struggle was engendered and won against the French, it was here that the antagonism between liberalism and conservatism was real and bitter. Life in the northern states flowed smoothly, with little apparent change in economic systems or in social structures, and with few events or developments of sufficient dramatic quality to attract the attention of scholars.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, and continuing to the present, the situation has changed radically. Not only has the political importance of the region changed dramatically, evidenced by the seven men from the north who have occupied the presidential chair since 1911, but the economic and technological change has been enormous. Among the fastest growing and rapidly developing sections in Mexico are parts of the northern states—everyone of which is involved in significant agricultural or industrial change. The social scientist now finds himself in the uncomfortable position of attempting to account for this rapidity of change without having available to him solid studies on the prosaic and mundane developments of the past century. In every northern state there is great need for monographic studies.

Military Accounts: General

Passing reference has been made to some of the border military activities in the context of diplomatic relations. The emphasis in this section is upon military actions themselves, quite aside from

their international implications. A general picture of some of the Mexican border military episodes, put into the larger context of border clashes in which Anglo-Americans were involved after 1750, may be found in Charles Richard Tuttle, *History of the Border Wars of 2 Centuries, Embracing a Narrative of the Wars with the Indians* (Chicago: C. A. Wall and Company, 1874. 608 pp.). In addition to the material concerning the war incident to Texas independence, previously mentioned, is a collection of documents gathered by Editora Nacional, *Documentos para la historia de la Guerra de Tejas* (Mexico: Editora Nacional, 1952. 136 pp.), consisting of reports, proclamations and manifestos.

Indian raiders, particularly from the Apache and Comanche tribes, were a constant source of irritation to both governments during much of the nineteenth century; part of this story is told in John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border With Crook* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891. 491 pp.) and supplemented by the same author's *An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886. 112 pp.); the latter, first appearing as a series of articles in *Outing Magazine*, gives a detailed account of a campaign against the Chiricahua Apaches in 1883. A more complete and better developed picture may be obtained from Carl Coke Rister's two books on the subject, *Border Command: General Phil Sheridan in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944. 244 pp.) and *Border Captives* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. 220 pp.). *Border Captives* is particularly pertinent, since it discusses captive-taking raids from Durango to Nebraska.

Fort Bliss, established in 1849 near El Paso, was the center of the United States army command for the border region during most of the period under discussion. Its garrison was very active in pursuing Indian raiders, and frequently crossed the international boundary while so engaged; it was from this military establishment that the search for Villa was begun after the Columbus raid. Two small monographs trace the history of the fort and its commands; both W. H. Thomlinson, *The Garrison of Fort Bliss, 1849-1916* (El Paso: Hertzog and Resler, 1945. 39 pp.) and Major D. B. Sanger, *The Story of Fort Bliss* (El Paso: Hughes-Buie Co., 1933. 26 pp.) are important sources.

The Mexican Revolution

Pancho Villa and the Punitive Expedition have brought forth a rash of books, most of which are mediocre. The most important are listed below:

- Alessio Robles, Miguel, *Obregón como militar* (Mexico: Editorial Cultura, 1935. 200 pp.). With emphasis on Obregón's part in the revolution against Huerta and in the campaign against Villa, the work also includes some good character sketches of most of the northern military leaders.
- Barragán Rodríguez, Juan, *Historia del Ejército y de la revolución constitucionalista* (Mexico: Talleres de la Editorial Stylo, 1946. 2 volumes). Barragán was Carranza's Chief of Staff; his work tends to magnify the deeds of the *Carrancistas*, but the work is generally of a high quality.
- Batchelder, Roger, *Watching and Waiting on the Mexican Border* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1917. 220 pp.). A member of the National Guard called to duty complains of the inefficiency of his unit and comments on the military situation.
- Brooke, George, *With The First City Troop on the Mexican Border, Being the Diary of a Trooper* (Philadelphia: The John Winston Co., 1917. 166 pp.). Experiences with the Philadelphia City Cavalry between July, 1916, and January, 1917, when the Punitive Expedition completed its withdrawal.
- Foix, Pere, *Pancho Villa* (Mexico: Ediciones Xochitl [Vidas Mexicanas], 1950. 278 pp.). A journalistic account by a Spanish emigré, readable and reasonably accurate.
- González, Manuel W., *Con Carranza: Episodios de la Revolución Constitucionalista, 1913-1914* (Monterrey: J. Cantú Leal, 1933-1934. 2 volumes). Virtually all the revolutionary activities in those years took place in the border states.
- González, Manuel W., *Contra Villa: Relatos de la campaña, 1914-1915* (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1935. 383 pp.). Accounts of the campaigns against Villa.
- Harris, Larry A., *Pancho Villa and the Columbus Raid* (El Paso: McMath, 1949. 100 pp.). Based on interviews with Villa associates long after the fact, the account is more picturesque than historically accurate.
- Herrera E., Celia, *Francisco Villa ante la historia* (Mexico: 1939. 111 pp.). Herrera, objecting to the movement to erect a statue to Villa, pictured the *norteño* general in very somber hues.
- Pinchon, Edgcomb, *Viva Villa* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933. 383 pp.). A novelized, and somewhat novel, biography; it is not as well done as his *Zapata*.
- Stevens, Louis, *Here Comes Pancho Villa: The Anecdotal History of a Genial Killer* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1930. 309 pp.). The author was enamored of his subject, causing him to lose perspective.
- Tompkins, Col. Frank, *Chasing Villa: The Story Behind the Story of Pershing's Expedition into Mexico* (Harrisburg: The Military Service Publishing Co., 1934. 270 pp.). Experiences on campaign,

interlarded with comments on Carranza, Wilson, the Mexicans in general, and the terrain, none of which he liked.

- Toulmin, H. A., Jr., *With Pershing in Mexico* (Harrisburg: The Military Service Publishing Co., 1935. 142 pp.). Incidents of the campaign and comments on the political situation; quite good.
- Salinas Carranza, Alberto, *La Expedición Punitiva* (Mexico: 1936. 430 pp.). An amply documented account of the expedition, including comments and statements from Pershing, Wilson, Carranza, Villa, Obregón, Luis Cabrera and others. The best source of interpretative information.
- Turner, Timothy G., *Bullets, Bottles and Gardenias* (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1935. 258 pp.). Reminiscences of a newspaper correspondent who was with Madero, Orozco, Carranza and Villa while each was fighting the central government between 1910 and 1918.

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

A number of theses are worthy of consultation for various aspects of historical development; these are listed in alphabetical order, with no attempt made to classify them according to areas:

- Box, Dorothy Mae, *A Social and Economic History of the El Paso Area* (Master's Thesis, North Texas State College, 1947). The author covered the Spanish, Mexican and United States periods in superficial manner.
- Boyd, James V., *Early Schools in Dona Ana County, New Mexico* (Master's Thesis, New Mexico State College, 1941).
- Burks, David D., *The Dawn of Manufacturing in Mexico, 1821-1855* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1953). A substantial job.
- Davids, Jules, *American Political and Economic Penetration of Mexico, 1877-1920* (Ph.D. Thesis, Georgetown University, 1947).
- De Wetter, Mardee, *Revolutionary El Paso, 1910-1917* (Master's Thesis, Texas Western College, 1946). El Paso had to contend with greater disturbances than any other U. S. border city as a result of revolutionary activity in Mexico; this is the story of those events, and what it meant to the city.
- Francis, Jessie D., *An Economic and Social History of Mexican California, 1822-1846* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1936). California was little affected by political events in Mexico.
- Peevey, Lucien E., *The First Two Years of Texas Statehood, 1846-1847* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1948). A day-by-day encyclopedic account.
- Russell, John Clifford, *State Sectionalism in New Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1939). The division of the state along ethnic lines, and what it has meant. The major findings were published by the author in *Social Forces* 16 (1937-1938): 268-271.

- Steen, Ralph W., *The Economic History of Texas, 1900-1930, with Some Attention to Social Aspects* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1934). Published with some revisions with the title of *Twentieth Century Texas: An Economic and Social History*.
- Telling, Irving, *New Mexico Frontiers: A Social History of the Gallup Area, 1881-1901* (Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1952).
- Vigness, David Martell, *The Republic of the Rio Grande: An Example of Separatism in Northern Mexico* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1951). Unlike the later Republic of Sonora, this "Republic" was the child of the Mexicans and not of filibusters.
- West, Robert C., *The Economic Structure of the Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1946). Late colonial period; good.

Articles in Journals

United States

In both quantity and quality, journal articles are satisfactory with respect to various aspects of the history of the border area to the north of the international boundary; the Mexican side is not as well covered. The nature of articles, however, with their narrowly confined topics, almost inevitably means that no single area or topic is completely described or analysed; this weakness is especially characteristic of the material to be discussed in this section.

A few excellent articles concerning subjects important to the area as a whole should be noted. A characteristic stamp of the entire region has been the Spanish mission; its effects have been tremendous on the material and social development of all the states, and as the prime colonizing and acculturating factor during the Spanish period it must be understood fully. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," *AHR* 23 (1917): 42-61, describes the functions, the administration, the method of service, the discipline and the training in the missions, as well as the relation between the mission and the civil government. Another characteristic of the region, as important in its way as the mission, has been the irrigation system developed during the colonial period and in some areas still operating; Wells O. Hutchins, "The Community Acequia: Its Origin and Development," *SWHQ* 31 (1927-1928): 261-284, tells of the nature of the legal structure, how the community project developed, and how it has functioned over the centuries. An interesting aspect of the same question, irrigation, is covered by Edward D.

Tittleman, "The First Irrigation Law Suit," *NMHR* 2 (1927): 363-368, in which the first irrigation law suit under American jurisdiction in New Mexico was held. Two Indian villages had claimed the water rights for two hundred years; neither the Spanish nor the Mexicans had been able to settle the question, largely because there were no properly constituted courts, and the villages had been involved in sporadic wars over the question. The suit came before the United States authorities shortly after the occupation, and in 1857 a decision was rendered. Final settlement did not come until 1917, by which time the 1857 decision had been completely forgotten by all parties, for some unexplained reason.

J. Evetts Haley, whose major publications have all concerned the cattle industry in one manner or another, has given a picture of one aspect of rustling activities in his "The Comanchero Trade," *SWHQ* 38 (1934-1935): 157-176. The Comanches stole cattle and horses from the ranges, and then brought the stolen stock to traders in New Mexico; it was a profitable trade for all concerned save the ranchers from whom the stock was stolen. Carl Coke Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *SWHQ* 33 (1929-1930): 34-49, describes rather than analyses the changed conditions brought on by the wanton slaughter of the bison.

Certain aspects of political development in New Mexico are detailed in a number of excellent articles which, taken together, give fairly good coverage of the topic. Lansing B. Bloom, "Beginnings of Representative Government in New Mexico," *El Palacio* 12: 74-78, summarizes political developments prior to the American occupation; the summary is very convenient against which to project later developments. The same author has also supplied a convenient listing of New Mexico governors in his "The Governors of New Mexico," *NMHR* 10 (1935): 152-157, in which he names, after a short introduction, all the governors from Juan de Oñate (1598) to Clyde Tingley (1935) in chronological order. He divides the governors into the following categories, which are themselves chronological: Spanish rule, Mexican rule, United States Military, United States civil-military, United States territorial, and state. Lansing B. Bloom also, in a series of articles which together would constitute a book-length monograph, traced the history of the state under Mexican jurisdiction in his "New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-1846," *Old Santa Fe* 1 (1913-1914): 3-50, 131-176, 235-288; and 2 (1914-1915): 3-57, 119-170, 223-278, 351-381. In another series of articles which would also

make a respectable monograph, another New Mexico historian has traced a portion of the long campaign for statehood; Marion Dargan's "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912," *NMHR* 14 (1939): 1-33, 121-142; 15 (1940): 133-187; 16 (1941): 70-103, 379-400; 17 (1943): 60-96, 148-175, is somewhat better than Le Baron Bradford Prince's monograph on the general subject.

American occupation of New Mexico, and the institution of civil government a few years later, constitutes an interesting and important chapter of New Mexico history; it was during those years that the most difficult situations of culture conflict had to be met and the lines for the future decided upon. Sister Mary Loyola, "The American Occupation of New Mexico," *NMHR* 14 (1939): 34-76, 143-200, 230-287, examines the question in some detail and with real scholarship. Paul A. F. Walter, Jr., "The First Civil Governor of New Mexico under the Stars and Stripes," *NMHR* 8 (1933): 98-129, adds to the story given by Sister Mary. The two articles combined give a satisfactory history of the period. France V. Scholes has laid the groundwork for research on the later period in his "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the 17th Century," *NMHR* 10 (1935): 71-111; even though it concerns a period much earlier than the focus of this guide, it is a valuable piece as an indication of the patterns which had developed when the United States absorbed the territory.

Although no attempt is being made in this guide to cover all the material concerning the Indians in the Southwest (such literature would constitute a major guide in itself) there are some aspects of Indian society and history which are considered relevant. Among the most useful of the historical accounts of the Indians in the region are the following:

- Abel, Annie Heloise, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," *American Historical Association Annual Report, 1906* (Washington, 1908. Vol. I) pp. 233-450.
- Clum, John P., "The San Carlos Apache Police," *NMHR* 5 (1930): 67-92. Clum was the Indian Agent at San Carlos for some years.
- Doolittle, James Rood, "Letter from James Rood Doolittle, Head of a Congressional Investigating Committee Concerned with Indian Affairs, to a Friend," *NMHR* 26 (1951): 148-158. Concerns condition of the Southwest tribes in 1865.
- Ogle, Ralph H., "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886," *NMHR* 14 (1939): 309-365; 15 (1940): 12-71, 188-248, 269-335. Also published under same title in book form (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940. 260 pp.).

- Opler, Morris Edward and Catherine M. Opler, "Mescalero Apache History in the Southwest," *NMHR* 25 (1950): 1-36.
- Reeve, Frank D., "The Apache Indians in Texas," *SWHQ* 50 # 2 (October, 1946): 189-214. History of Apache development, missionary work, troubles, raids.
- Reeve, Frank D., "Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," *NMHR* 12 (1937): 218-269; 13 (1938): 14-62, 146-191, 261-313.
- Reeve, Frank D., "The Government and the Navaho, 1846-1858," *NMHR* 14 (1939): 82-114.
- Reeve, Frank D., "The Government and the Navaho, 1878-1883," *NMHR* 16 (1941): 275-312.
- Reeve, Frank D., "The Government and the Navaho, 1883-1888," *NMHR* 18 (1943): 17-51.
- Rister, Carl Coke, "Harmful Practices of Indian Traders of the Southwest, 1865-1876," *NMHR* 6 (1931): 231-248.
- Shonle, Ruth, "Peyote, the Giver of Visions," *AA* 26 (1925): 53-75. History and use of the peyote, tracing the spread from Mexico to the United States in the late 19th century. Some description of the effects and of the visions seen.

Two interesting short articles concern the Laredo area, one of the sections of heavy concentration of Spanish-speaking, where the economy and social life of each river city depends heavily upon the other. In the main the relations between the two ethnic groups have been good on the surface, with Spanish-speaking elected officials often holding important municipal offices. In the late nineteenth century a serious riot occurred in the city as the result of an especially bitter campaign for local offices; S. S. Wilcox, "The Laredo City Election and the Riot of 1886," *SWHQ* 45 (1941-1942): 1-23, details the causes and the extent of the riot. An interesting feature of the situation, particularly in view of the characteristic discrimination pattern which is mentioned elsewhere, is that ethnic considerations apparently played absolutely no part; at least the indications are that both the Spanish-speaking and the English-speaking were divided, and both groups could be found on both sides of the political fence—and of the rioting. A more peaceful episode is detailed by Roy James in his rather short "The Life and Times of Minera, Texas," *SWHQ* 49 (1945-1946): 510-517. A village too small to appear on most standard highway maps, Minera is on the Rio Grande not too distant from Laredo; James's account is a rather perceptive, and charming, description of life in the village.

One of the most interesting aspects of American history has been the periodic founding of religious or semi-religious utopian

communities; these have occurred in virtually all sections of the nation, and in time are spread from the early colonial period through the early twentieth century. One of the more interesting of these experiments took place in the Mesilla Valley of New Mexico between 1885 and 1900. Julia Keleher, "The Land of Shalom: Utopia in New Mexico," *NMHR* 19 (1944): 123-134, gives the history of the enterprise in some detail. Unfortunately, the author's organization and style are somewhat confusing, and the chronology of events and the reasons for the failure are not as clearly stated as one would like. Two other unsuccessful ventures in frontier settlement are discussed in Irving Telling, "Coolidge and Thoreau: Forgotten Frontier Towns," *NMHR* 29 (1954): 210-223, and one frontier settlement which was not unsuccessful is discussed in Benjamin M. Read, "In Santa Fe during the Mexican Regime," *NMHR* 2 (1927): 90-97.

One aspect of border history, and of ethnic conflict, which has not been satisfactorily covered is what happened along the international boundary immediately after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. It is known that many of the Mexicans refused to avail themselves of the opportunity of becoming citizens of the United States, as provided for in the treaty, and that Nuevo Laredo was established by a group who left Laredo in order to retain Mexican citizenship. Although there is some evidence that a considerable exodus occurred in 1848 and 1849, and that there was a similar movement from the Mesilla Valley area after the Gadsden Purchase, there is no satisfactory account of the magnitude of the trek or the places where the evacuees settled. P. M. Baldwin, "A Short History of the Mesilla Valley," *NMHR* 13 (1938): 314-324, mentions in passing the phenomenon, but unfortunately the story is incomplete even for that section.

Military activities along the border have had their share of attention in the serious journals. A number of articles deal with border raids, invasions or filibustering activities, but of the total picture of such activities during the past hundred years only a small portion has been developed. Peter Gerhard's "Baja California in the Mexican War," *PHR* 14 (1945): 418-424, contains virtually the only published account of that phase of the war, and J. Fred Rippy discusses the filibustering activities of a number of groups, including that of William Walker, between 1848 and 1853 in his "Anglo-American Filibusters and the Gadsden Treaty," *HAHR* 5 (1922): 155-180. A specific area is singled out by Ernest C. Shearer in "The Carvajal Disturbances," *SWHQ* 55 (1951-

1952): 201-230, which concerns border troubles in the lower Rio Grande Valley region in 1851-1852. A retired army officer, Colonel Martin L. Crimmins, has contributed a bit of knowledge in his "Colonel Buell's Expedition into Mexico in 1880," *NMHR* 10 (1935): 133-142, while a set of revolutionary and quasi-revolutionary movements are examined in Charles C. Cumberland, "Mexican Revolutionary Movements from Texas, 1906-1912," *SWHQ* 52 (1948-1949): 301-324; those of Flores Magón, Madero, and Bernardo Reyes are particularly interesting and important. Lowell L. Blaisdell, "Was it Revolution or Filibustering? The Mystery of the Flores Magón Revolt in Baja California," *PHR* 23 (1954): 147-164, and "Rhys Bryce, the Reluctant Filibuster," *SWSSQ* 38 (1957-1958): 148-161, add considerable detailed information concerning an abortive military movement from the United States into Baja California in 1911; Peter Gerhard deals with the same subject, in a different light, in "The Socialist Invasion of Baja California, 1911," *PHR* 15 (1946): 295-304. The reverse side of the coin, that of raids from Mexico into the United States, is examined in Charles C. Cumberland, "Border Raids in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1915," *SWHQ* 57 (1953-1954): 285-311; of particular interest is the short discussion of an irridentist movement, known as the Plan of San Diego, which needs to be studied in more detail.

Other accounts dealing with military history follow:

- Barker, Eugene C., "Native Latin American Contribution to the Colonization and Independence of Texas," *SWHQ* 46 (1942-1943): 317-335. Primarily an account of the activities of such people as Lorenzo de Zavala (generally considered by Mexicans to have been a despicable traitor) in the 1830's.
- Beers, Henry Putney, "Military Protection of the Santa Fe Trail to 1843," *NMHR* 12 (1937): 113-133. Protection against the Plains Indians.
- Bender, A. B., "Military Posts in the Southwest, 1848-1860," *NMHR* 16 (1941): 125-147. Includes a map showing the location of the posts.
- Bender, A. B., "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1853," *NMHR* 9 (1934): 249-272. Combined with the following reference, a fairly good account covering the period from the occupation to the Civil War.
- Bender, A. B., "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1853-1861," *NMHR* 9 (1934): 345-374.
- Clum, John P., "Apache Misrule: A Bungling Agent Sets the Military Arm in Motion," *NMHR* 5 (1930): 138-153, 221-239. Clum, a

- sometime agent himself, felt that the Apache campaign could have been prevented by wise handling of the tribe.
- Curtis, F. S., Jr., "Influence of Weapons on New Mexico History," *NMHR* 1 (1926): 324-334. An interesting presentation by a young military school instructor.
- Giles, Barney M., "Early Military Aviation Activities in Texas," *SWHQ* 54 (1950-1951): 143-158. Beginning in 1909 with some material relative to the use of planes on the border. Giles, a Lt. General in the Air Force, was living in San Antonio, Texas.
- McKibbin, Davidson B., "Revolt of the Navaho, 1913," *NMHR* 29 (1954): 259-289.
- Opler, Morris E., "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," *NMHR* 31 (1938): 360-386. An interesting account from the Indian's side, indicating that Geronimo and his friends were frightened of the whites, and that they left the reservation as result of that fear rather than a desire to go to war.

Other aspects of regional history may be gleaned from the following articles covering a variety of subjects:

- Baugh, W. H. and Ross, W. D., "Changes in the Manufacturing Economy of the Southwest Between 1939 and 1947," *SWSSQ* 31 (1950-1951): 1-92. Includes Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana. Data by states, with some comparison.
- Brent, Robert A., "Reaction in the United States to Nicolas Trist's Mission to Mexico, 1847-1848," *RHA* 35 (1953): 105.
- Crane, Robert C., "Some Aspects of the History of West and North-west Texas since 1845," *SWHQ* 26 (1922-1923): 30-43. Deals with the years between 1850 and 1880, with some reference to both earlier and later periods.
- Donnell, F. S., "When Texas Owned New Mexico to the Rio Grande," *NMHR* 8 (1933): 65-75. Period from Texas independence to 1850.
- Durham, Harold H., "New Mexican Land Grants with Special Reference to the Title Papers of the Maxwell Grant," *NMHR* 20 (1955): 1-22. The Maxwell Grant, subject to long litigation, was one of the largest areas ever claimed (with any semblance of justification) by one man.
- Espinosa, J. Manuel, "Memoir of a Kentuckian in New Mexico," *NMHR* 12 (1938): 1-13.
- Holden, William Curry, "The Problem of Hands on the Spur Ranch," *SWHQ* 35 (1931-1932): 194-207. Ranch near Childress, Texas, owned by an English company. Data on wages, hours, mode of work, and other aspects of ranch life. In combination with the following references, a very useful source.

- Holden, William Curry, "Experimental Agriculture on the Spur Ranch, 1885-1904," *SWSSQ* 13 (1932-1933): 16-23.
- Holden, William Curry, "West Texas Droughts," *SWHQ* 32 (1928-1929): 103-123. A good description of the devastating drought of 1886.
- McKinney, Lillie G., "History of the Albuquerque Indian School," *NMHR* 20 (1945): 109-138, 207-226, 310-335.
- Perrine, Fred S., "Uncle Sam's Camel Corps," *NMHR* 1 (1926): 434-444. An account of the abortive attempt to use camels for transport in the arid west.
- Ramsdell, Charles W., Jr., (contributor), with a foreword by J. F. Clark, "Memories of a Texas Land Commissioner, W. C. Walsh," *SWHQ* 44 (1940-1941): 481-497. Concerning public land. Little on border, but interesting sidelights on the land problem.
- Reeve, Frank D., (ed.), "Albert Franklin Banta: "Arizona Pioneer," *NMHR* 27 (1952): 81-106, 200-252, 315-347; 28 (1953): 52-67, 133-147.
- Rolle, Andrew F., "Futile filibustering in Baja California, 1888-1890," *PHR* 20 (1951): 159-166. Two attempts made to organize in San Diego filibustering expeditions to go to Baja California.
- Romero, Cecil B., "The Riddle of the Adobe," *NMHR* 4 (1929): 335-349. A rather generalized and somewhat naive essay on the failure of the Spanish to occupy more of the area now in the United States, using New Mexico as a base. His conclusions, that economic and political conditions over which Spain had no control were responsible, is neither startling nor profound.
- Saunders, Lyle, "The Social History of Spanish-Speaking People in Southwestern United States since 1846," *Proceedings*, First Congress of Historians from Mexico and the United States; Mexico: Editorial Cultura, 1950.
- Stenburg, Richard R., "Jackson, Anthony Butler, and Texas," *SWSSQ* 13 (1932-1933): 264-286. Jackson's dealings with Butler after his return from Mexico as minister. Jackson encouraged Butler to try to sound out Mexico about buying or otherwise obtaining Texas.
- Taylor, Paul S. and Tom Vasey, "Historical Background of California Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology* 1 (1936): 281-295. Tables. Gives data on Mexican, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino labor. Shows that improved land acreage reached peak about 1889; irrigated acreage still increasing to 1929. Products of extensive farming being superseded in value by products of intensive farming. By 1919, more income from intensive. Comparison of total farm labor with Iowa and Mississippi.
- Thomas, Alfred B., "Documents Bearing upon the Northern Frontier of New Mexico," *NMHR* 4 (1929): 146-163.

- Walter, Paul A. F., "Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo," *NMHR* 7 (1932): 97-104. A short biographical sketch of one of New Mexico's most distinguished men.
- Wooten, Mattie Loyd, "Racial, National, and Nativity Trends in Texas, 1870-1930," *SWSSQ* 14 (1933-1934): 62-69.

Mexico

Journal article coverage concerning the history of the Mexican side of the international boundary is very thin, in either Mexican or United States journals. The historian in the United States who is interested in the national period of Mexico tends to devote his efforts to topics rather than to areas, and the topics generally have dealt with developments in one way or another impinging importantly on the national picture rather than on the state scene. The Mexican historians have tended in large part to concern themselves with the colonial period rather than the late national; furthermore, the journals in which such articles might be published are more limited in number in Mexico than in the United States and consequently it is only on rare occasions that first class journal material appears. A combination of these factors has created a situation in which the materials in article form concerning the history of the area are severely limited.

One of the most interesting sets of articles on the Mexican side concerns various attempts, some successful and some not, to establish colonies of non-Spanish-speaking people near the border, but the references cited below cover only a minute portion of the attempts which were either made or contemplated. Most of the colonies so established had a religious or moralistic base; within this concept come the socialistic colony of the 19th century in Sinaloa, the Mennonite colonies in Chihuahua in both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, and the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua in the 19th—this latter group of villages is still in existence. Leopold Katscher, "Owen's Topolobampo Colony, Mexico," *AJS* 12 (1906-1907): 145-175, is a fairly good presentation of an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony in the Fuerte Valley, Sinaloa; the colony as an entity dissolved in the 1890's, but many of the colonists remained as individual holders. Elizabeth H. Mills, "The Mormon Colonies in Chihuahua after the 1912 Exodus," *NMHR* 29 (1954): 165-182, 290-310, traces the problems incident to a reestablishment of the communities after the colonists were forced to flee during the Mexican Revolution. The communities began to experience serious difficulty only after the

outbreak of the Orozco rebellion, when the revolutionists exacted forced loans and other favors at a time when the Federal Government was powerless to prevent such demands. Although Mills' article is good as far as it goes, there is much with respect to the Mormon experience in Chihuahua which needs to be told. Carlos Barney Almeida's "Mennonite Colonization in Chihuahua," *Estudio Americano* 5 (1943): 581-588, is only a partial survey of Mennonite experience and effort.

A slightly different aspect of human settlement is treated in two articles relative to Lower California. George F. Deasy and Peter Gerhard have plotted the internal population movements in the peninsula over a period covering more than a century and a half; "Settlements in Baja California, 1768-1930," *GeogRev* 34 (1944): 574-586, points out that the early settlements were in the middle of the peninsula, but that the area of heaviest concentration by 1800 was the north, followed by a shift again to the middle by 1836, a further shift to the southern portion in the latter part of the century, and again to the north by 1930. Since that time the north, largely stimulated by irrigation projects, has been one of the most rapidly growing sections in the nation. Eugene K. Chamberlain, "Mexican Colonization versus American Interests in Lower California," *PHR* 20 (1951): 43-55, traces the process by which the large holdings by United States nationals had largely been liquidated through Mexican colonization activities in the peninsula between 1920 and 1950.

Some spot studies on north Mexican history have added a great deal of information, in spite of their rarity. Herbert O. Brayer, "The Cananea Incident," *NMHR* 13 (1938): 387-415, leaves much to be desired with respect to some of the aspects of the riotous strike in 1906, but it is the best source for a complete discussion of the matter. Unfortunately, most of Brayer's information came from newspapers in the area, and his account accordingly leaves unanswered as many questions as it answers. Francisco R. Almada, "La Imprenta y el periodismo en Chihuahua," *BolSocChi* 1 (1938-1939): 108-111, 141-147, 209-213, 247-251, is more useful for the listing of publications than for its interpretation. Pedro Zuloaga, "Aspectos del Estado de Chihuahua," *Hoy*, May 3, 1941: 22-23, 81, is an unsatisfactory account of the cattle industry of the state, particularly its regrowth after the devastating attacks on the industry during the Villa period when he and others simply drove great herds to the border for sale in the United States. Zuloaga, unfortunately, sees the hacienda system through nostalgic eyes

covered by rose-tinted glasses, and much of his commentary on the system is sheer romance. A satisfactory history of the northern hacienda, cattle or otherwise, is still to be written.

The companion cities of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez were often keys to revolutionary success or failure between 1910 and 1920. The capture of Ciudad Juárez by the Madero forces brought the Díaz dictatorship to an end; the same city was in 1913 the target of an unimaginably daring maneuver by Pancho Villa when he simply rode a train into town with his troops and captured the city before the Huerta forces realized he was there. El Paso was a refugee center, a center for the shipment of licit or illicit arms, for revolutionary plotting; it was also the city from which United States troops were sent to give aid to the Carranza forces in Ciudad Juárez, then under attack by Villa in 1916. In a companion piece to Mardee De Wetter's thesis on El Paso (previously cited), Francisco R. Almada's "Ciudad Juárez al través de la revolución mexicana," *BolSocChi* 6 (1946-1947): 1-17, puts these and other episodes in proper perspective.

Other useful publications:

- Argüelles, Pedro, "El desastre de la Laguna," *Economista* 4 (1941): 12-14.
- Irrab, Noel, "Efemérides chihuahuenses," *BolSocChi* 2 (1939-1940): 318-324.
- Ives, Ronald L., "Some Papago Migrations in the Sonoyta Valley, Sonora," *Masterkey* 10 (1936): 161-167.
- Terrazas, Silvestre, "El verdadero Pancho Villa," *BolSocChi* 5 (1944): 68-79, 124-129, 166-171, 212-215, 233-241, 264-276. This reference, combined with the following, gives an uncritical portrayal of Villa written by a man who had forsaken Carranza to become a Villa aide. Silvestre Terrazas was not one of the Chihuahua hacienda-owning Terrazas.
- Terrazas, Silvestre, "El verdadero Pancho Villa," *BolSocChi* 7 (1950): 362-365, 377-381, 393-396, 401-405, 429-433, 453-456, 475-478.
- Valdez Terrazas, Alberto, "El salvajismo apache en Chihuahua," *BolSocChi* 7 (1950): 372-374.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

One of the areas of greatest potential interest along the border concerns the educational systems on each side of the international boundary, and the impact of one on the structure and philosophy of the other. All of the companion border cities, such as El Paso-Ciudad Juárez, Eagle Pass-Piedras Negras, Laredo-Nuevo Laredo, have well-developed public educational systems, with the schools of each nation presumably operating within the general educational and philosophical context of the nation at large. Over the years there has been a stream of Mexican students coming across the international boundary daily for the purpose of receiving an education, particularly at the secondary and university level, in the United States. Whether there has been a contrary movement in the opposite direction is uncertain and doubtful. The magnitude of the movement, and its importance as an agent of culture change, is only dimly seen. The impression of those familiar with the border area, either as a result of residence or of study, is that the number of students coming to the United States is considerable and the assumption is that the impact is marked.

Any attempt at determining the impact would necessarily begin with the basic educational systems of each country, after which it would be necessary to examine any deviations in the particular area. On the assumption that those who will use this guide are familiar with basic patterns and philosophies of education in the United States, no attempt here has been made to include works concerning that subject; the literature in the field is vast and readily available. The emphasis here will be on Mexican educational precepts, with some indication of available publications relative to the United States systems. Inasmuch as Mexican education is centralized, the states in that country have little influence on educational policy or practice.

Books and Monographs

General

The most convenient synthesis of Mexican educational values and practices may be found in George F. Kneller, *The Education*

of the Mexican Nation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. 258 pp.), which covers the field up to about 1948, when the basic research for the study was completed. George I. Sanchez' *Development of Higher Education in Mexico* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1944. 140 pp.) is an excellent work on the history of university education, beginning with the concepts and attempts of Fray Pedro de Gante in the 16th century and following the story through the first phases of the Mexican Revolution. In addition to its excellence as a history of education, Sanchez' work is one of the most convenient sources for the basic assumptions and philosophies behind higher education. Irma Wilson, *Mexico: A Century of Educational Thought* (New York: Hispanic Institute of the United States, 1941. 376 pp.), deals with the changes in educational concepts in the 19th century, a period of bitter differences of opinion. The best work on this period, however, particularly in detailing the titantic struggle between the liberal theorists on the one hand and the liberal practitioners on the other is Leopoldo Zea, *Del liberalismo a la revolución en la educación mexicana* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, 1956. 205 pp.). The fundamental dilemma in which the 19th century liberal found himself consisted of the basic contradiction between pure democracy and great individual liberty on the one hand and the need for compulsory public education on the other; Zea traces the struggle and indicates the slow process of compromise to the point that a new concept of the function and the nature of Mexican education emerged as a fundamental point of the Revolution.

George I. Sanchez, *Mexico: A Revolution by Education* (New York: Viking, 1936. 211 pp.), C. Trejo Lerdo de Tejada, *La educación socialista* (Mexico: 1935), and George C. Booth, *Mexico's School-Made Society* (Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1941. 175 pp.), all deal with the basic precepts and practices of Mexican education since the Revolution; an essential ingredient of each is some discussion of the Church-State conflict over rights and duties in the educational field. Sanchez and Booth, particularly, stress failure of the Church in its task of moral education. A convenient and short essay on the development of the educational system from pre-Hispanic times through the administration of Manuel Avila Camacho may be found in Alberto Barocia *et al.*, *México y la Cultura* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1946. 995 pp.). Francisco Larroyo's chapter ("La educación," pp. 585-625) is a compact discussion of the

major elements of educational history. Professor Larroyo divides the development into six periods, including the pre-Hispanic Indian, the colonial, the "free education" of the early nineteenth century, the Reform period, the socialistic development from the beginning of the Revolution through the regime of Lázaro Cárdenas, and the latest phase, beginning with the Manuel Avila Camacho administration, which the author calls "education at the service of national unity." He believes the last to be the most important single development in Mexican education.

A Peruvian normal school professor, during the Avila Camacho administration, devoted two years to the study of practices and principles in rural education; during the course of his study he visited and obtained data on 14 rural normal schools, 6 centers for technical education for Indian girls, 4 rural cultural missions, 8 rural primary boarding schools, and more than 100 regular rural schools. He gave the results of this study in an excellent analysis and description; Max Miñano-García's *La educación rural en México* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1945. 425 pp.) is certainly the best work available on this particular topic, and should be consulted by any researcher who wishes to put the educational patterns of the Mexican border states into the proper national perspective. William Edmond Gates, a Maya scholar, also attacked the problem of rural education, particularly as it impinges on the Indians; his short *Rural Education in Mexico and the Indian Problem* (Mexico: Privately printed, 1935. 28 pp.) is an important source in spite of its date of publication. Patrick Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, Press, 1952. 213 pp.) is primarily interested in the development of ideas and philosophies, through which he approaches the problem of education obliquely.

The only convenient monograph on education in the Mexican border area, as distinct from the remainder of the country, is M. Quiroz Martínez, *La educación pública en el Distrito Norte de la Baja California* (Mexicali: Privately published, 1928. 149 pp.), which is badly outdated. An interesting and recent monograph which compares some of the fundamental assumptions and philosophies of education in the United States and in Latin America is Gregorio B. Palacín Iglesias, *La educación en Los Estados Unidos y en Latinoamérica* (Mexico: La Imp. Azteca, 1955. 344 pp.). Included is an excellent chapter on Mexico. Additional studies on Mexican education:

- Alemán, Miguel, *Informe presidencial rendido por el C. Lic. Miguel Alemán, el día 1º de Septiembre de 1948* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1948. 56 pp.). This little booklet is cited here only as an example; it is a simplified version, with explanations, of the annual presidential message to congress and the nation, written for the students of the primary schools in Mexico. One section of the message is devoted to education.
- Castellanos, Abraham, *Pedagogía rébsamen* (Mexico: 1905).
- Chávez, Ezequiel A., *La educación nacional* (Mexico: 1902).
- Chávez Orozco, Luis, *La escuela mexicana y la sociedad mexicana* (Mexico: 1940).
- La educación pública en México a través de los mensajes presidenciales desde la consumación de la independencia hasta nuestros días* (Mexico: 1926).
- Gual Vidal, Manuel, *Programa educativa del Lic. Miguel Alemán, Presidente de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, y diez discursos sobre educación* (Mexico: Edición del Departamento de Publicidad y Propaganda, 1947. 87 pp.). Gual Vidal was the Minister of Education under Alemán at the time of writing; this monograph consists of a rather succinct outline of the basic educational policies of the Alemán administration, followed by a series of ten public speeches by the Minister of Education on various phases of educational philosophy and development.
- Larroyo, Francisco, *Historia Comparada de la educación en México* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1947. 431 pp.).
- Pani, Alberto J., *Una encuesta sobre educación popular* (Mexico: Departamento de Aprovisionamientos Generales, 1918. 313 pp.).

Education of Spanish-Speaking in the United States

Public education in the states north of the international boundary has in part been geared to a condition which includes a large number of non-English-speaking scholastics, and some of the operations of the school systems have been materially affected by the fluctuations in daily enrollment resulting from the annual migrations. The annual reports of the departments of public instruction of the various states include discussions of these particular and peculiar problems, as well as other aspects of the education system. In addition, Samuel B. McAlister, *A Selection of Cases on the Government and Law of the Texas Public School System* (College Station, Texas: The Educational Publishing Co., 1935. 357 pp.), is a convenient reference for the legal stipulations as they existed at the date of publication. A much more valuable work, not only because of its recency but because of its coverage, is C. E. Evans,

The Story of Texas Schools (Austin: The Steck Co., 1955. 457 pp.). A monograph on an interesting chapter in Texas education is Harold J. Matthews, *Candle by Night: The Story of the Life and Times of Kezia Payne de Pelchin, Texas Pioneer Teacher, Social Worker and Nurse* (Boston: Humphries, Inc., 1942. 272 pp.).

There are no satisfactory histories of the development of education in the other border states. Roy W. Cloud, *Education in California* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1952. 296 pp.), scarcely qualifies as a well-integrated study of California education. Cloud, the executive secretary of the California Teachers Association for many years, was asked to write a history of that organization shortly before his retirement; his history of the association expanded into a history of the educational system, but it is encyclopedic in its coverage. The book has an enormous amount of information, somewhat difficult to put to easy use. Leighton A. Johnson's *Development of the Central State Agency for Public Education in California, 1849-1949* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953) is a history of educational administration rather than of curriculum. A good fairly short commentary on secondary education in New Mexico is John W. Diefendorf, *The High School Situation in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1931. 58 pp. University of New Mexico Education Series V, No. 1).

The particular problem of teaching Spanish-speaking children has received, in recent years, a great deal of attention from professional educators; in some of the border counties, particularly in Texas, the overwhelming majority of the scholastics are unable to speak any English on entering school. Traditionally it has been assumed that the most convenient and the soundest manner of handling the question is to isolate and segregate the Spanish-speaking in the lower grades, and then to integrate the English- and the Spanish-speaking at the high school level. In some cases, however, the child of Mexican immigrant stock went completely through eleven or twelve years of school without ever having been in a classroom with an Anglo—either teacher or student. The settlement pattern of the Spanish-speaking, with the tendency toward self-isolation reinforced by taboos against "Mexicans" and "whites" sharing the same residential areas, has made the delineation of school districts along ethnic lines very convenient. The tendency has been, too, to starve the Spanish-speaking school districts; the resulting poor facilities and poor instruction have, according to some authorities, seriously handicapped the Spanish-

speaking child. One of the more interesting research findings with respect to the Spanish-speaking and education has been that reported by William D. Altus in the *Journal of Social Psychology*, which has already been cited. Altus found that United States-born Spanish-speaking semi-literates who had actually had some years of schooling were more proficient in written Spanish, in which they had had no formal instruction, than they were in English, in which presumably they had been instructed. This "survival of a culture," to use Altus' phrase, certainly raises serious questions concerning the instructional pattern.

One of the first serious examinations of the instructional program and system with respect to the Spanish-speaking was completed by Herschel T. Manuel of The University of Texas; his *The Education of Mexican and Spanish-Speaking Children in Texas* (Austin: The Fund for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Texas, 1930. 173 pp.) was the pioneer work in the field and stimulated other research activities in the area. Annie Reynolds, *The Education of Spanish-Speaking Children in Five Southwestern States* (Washington: G.P.O., 1933. 64 pp.) is a short and general survey of the practices and the needs; it is a very convenient and succinct outline of conditions as they existed at the time of writing, and as such is a good base-line against which to measure changes in the structure over the years since. Lloyd Spencer Tireman, *Teaching Spanish-Speaking Children* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948. 218 pp.) is a thorough examination of the pedagogical as well as the social problems involved. Wilson Little's *Spanish Speaking Children of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1944. 73 pp.) is more concerned with the definition of the situation than with the solution. Marie Morrison Hughes, who has devoted her professional life to the pedagogical problems involved in teaching the Spanish-speaking, has been primarily concerned with the acquisition of English-speaking facility by the Spanish-speaking child. Her first major work in the field was *Teaching a Standard English Vocabulary* (Santa Fe: New Mexico State Department of Education, 1932. 178 pp.).

George I. Sanchez, who has been particularly concerned with the social and educational implications of segregated schools at any level, examined some of the aspects of the situation in his *The Equalization of Educational Opportunity: Some Issues and Problems* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1939. 47 pp. New Mexico University Bulletin, Educational Series X, No. 1). He pursued the question, with more positive recommendations,

in his *Concerning Segregation of Spanish-Speaking Children in the Public Schools* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951. 75 pp. Inter-American Education Occasional Papers IX), in which he emphasized the social and pedagogical error implicit in segregation. One of his major findings was that segregation was maintained, particularly in Texas, California and Arizona, on the ostensible basis of the inability of the child to speak English on entering school, but that in practice the school authorities made no distinction between the Spanish-speaking child who was monolingual and the one who was bilingual; to Sanchez this is a clear demonstration of ethnic discrimination rather than pedagogical concern. He further stressed the discouragement which the system gave to the Spanish-speaking with respect to higher education, and certainly Ruth Ann Fogartie's *Texas-Born Spanish-Name Students in Texas Colleges and Universities, 1945-1946* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1948. 35 pp. Inter-American Education Occasional Papers III) found a discouraging condition. Of a total enrollment of slightly more than 49,000 college or university students, only 799 were Spanish-name; this accounted for approximately 1.63 percent of college or university enrollment, even though Lyle Saunders, *The Spanish-Speaking Population of Texas* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1949. 56 pp.), estimated that the Spanish-speaking students in the public school accounted for roughly 23 percent of the white scholastics.

The magnitude of the problem, and the concern with which the educators have viewed it in recent years, stimulated the formation of a Conference on the Education of Spanish-Speaking Children. One of the most useful of these conference reports is Fifth Annual Conference on the Education of Spanish-Speaking People, *Proceedings* (Los Angeles: George Pepperdine College, 1951), which includes papers given by Ralph Beals, Lloyd Tireman, George Sanchez, Lyle Saunders, and Helen Heffernan, among others. An interesting experiment in community education in a Spanish-speaking village of New Mexico has been reported by Lloyd S. Tireman and Mary Watson. As the result of a curious combination of circumstances, Dr. Tireman and Dr. Watson were given an opportunity to experiment at Nambé community, 18 miles north of Santa Fe, for a five-year period; the experiment, going through the first eight grades only, was not an unqualified success, but many of the experiences of Tireman and Watson and their staff give serious food for thought. The complete report was first published as *La Comunidad* (Albuquerque: University of

New Mexico Press, 1943. 129 pp.), but, according to Tireman, the title conveyed the impression that the text was in Spanish and accordingly it was not read by those presumably most interested in the subject. In order to rectify that misunderstanding, the book was republished under the title of *A Community School in a Spanish-Speaking Village* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948. 169 pp.).

Other monographs which have useful information are:

- Barker, George C., *Pachuco: An American-Spanish Argot* (Tucson: University of Arizona Social Science Bulletin 18. 1950. 38 pp.).
- California Department of Education, Division of Instruction, *Teachers' Guide to Education of Spanish Speaking Children* (Sacramento: State Department of Education, 1952. 84 pp.).
- Coleman, A. and C. B. King, *English Teaching in the Southwest* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1940. 307 pp.).
- Sanchez, George I., *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940. 98 pp.). Particular reference to Taos County.
- Texas State Department of Education, *Statewide Survey of Enumeration, Enrollment, Attendance and Progress of Latin American Children in Texas Public Schools* (Austin: Department of Education, 1944. Mimeographed).
- Thomas, Howard E. and Florence Taylor, *Migrant Farm Labor in Colorado: A Study of Migratory Families* (New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1951).
- Vickery, William E. and Stewart G. Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. 214 pp.). Not specifically applicable, but relevant for background and comparative purposes.
- Young, Sarah L. (ed.), *Education for Cultural Unity* (Oakland, California: California Elementary School Principals' Association, 1945).

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

A number of theses on the subject, particularly with respect to English-language facility and other factors pertinent to retardation, are available. Probably the best is a report of an experimental summer program in southern California; the fact that the author has had long experience in the field perhaps brings some sophistication which is often lacking in theses. Marie Morrison Hughes, *The English Language Facility of Mexican-American Children Living and Attending School in a Segregated Community* (Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1952), analyses the experience at "Tecolote,"

a small completely Spanish-speaking community between Pasadena and Long Beach, in which 64 children between the ages of 6 and 12 were involved in a special five-week summer program for improving English facility. The study indicates that there is no correlation between age and English-speaking ability, and that the command of the language by the group was somewhat below that of Anglo four-year-olds, which had been previously determined through independent studies. While the analysis of the possible factors impinging on the inability to use English does not conform to the best in sociological and psychological technique, the findings bring into sharp focus one of the fundamental weaknesses in segregated education. A related topic was the subject of Selma Ernestine Herr's *The Effect of Pre-First Grade Training upon Reading Readiness and Reading Achievement among Spanish-American Children in the First Grade* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1945). Laurie Timmons Callicut is concerned with the difficult task of comparative achievement and intelligence tests in *The Construction and Evaluation of Parallel Tests of Reading in English and Spanish* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1942), applicable not only to the Spanish-speaking group on the United States side, but also to a cross-international boundary comparison.

Joshua B. Boynton, *An Investigation of the Age-Grade Distribution of Pupils in the Public Schools of Texas and the Factors that Have Influenced this Distribution* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1937), does not deal specifically with the Spanish speaking, but the findings are pertinent to the subject. Perry Broom's *An Interpretative Analysis of the Economic and Education Status of Latin-Americans in Texas* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1942), is primarily concerned with the economic determinants rather than other social or cultural factors. Mrs. Luisa G. G. Sanchez, *The "Latin American" of the Southwest: Backgrounds and Curricular Implications* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, 1954) examines the educational patterns in terms of the needs of the Spanish-speaking students. Nellie Holmes Loomis, *Spanish-Anglo Cleavage in a New Mexico High School* (Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1955), reports no findings significantly at variance with other cleavage studies. Another aspect of the social situation in the schools is examined by Mrs. Hattie Mae Garnett, *Boy-Girl Relationships of Latin American Children as Shown in Anecdotal Records by Teachers* (Master's Thesis, University of Texas, 1953). The following theses, although outdated and somewhat unsophisticated, may be of some use:

- Hughes, Marie M., *The Acquisition of English-Speaking Ability by Spanish-Speaking Children* (Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1935).
- Leis, Ward W., *The Status of Education for Mexican Children in Four Border States* (Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1932).
- Taylor, M. C., *Retardation of Mexican Children in Albuquerque Schools* (Master's Thesis, Stanford University, 1927).

In view of the nature and extent of the problem it is somewhat surprising that the advanced-degree candidates in the field of education in the border states have not been more active with respect to research relative to the Spanish-speaking. Indications of this failure come from perusing a list of advanced degree theses and research projects not yet completed in California in 1930-1931; on the two lists, comprising approximately 320 theses and a slightly smaller number of research projects, not one project dealing with the Spanish-speaking could be found. A sampling of a more recent listing uncovered the same condition. In 1947 the University of California at Los Angeles granted some 160 Master's degrees and 10 Ph.D. degrees in education; of that group only two Master's theses were even faintly connected with the problem, but the connection was so remote that they are not included here. Furthermore, of the total number of nearly 400 Master's degrees and 46 Ph.D. degrees, not one was directly concerned with the Spanish-speaking or with any subject particularly relevant to this guide.

Articles in Journals

One could wish for a better coverage, in quantity and in quality, than that which exists in the educational journals. Many of the specific questions which could be asked with respect to education along the border, on both sides, have not been answered in the journals, which should be no source of wonder in view of the immediately preceding section. There are a number of excellent articles which do not deal specifically with the Spanish-speaking, however, which impinge on the question and should be used for any consideration of comparative achievements, goals, attitudes, or actions between Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking, or between the students in the United States and those in Mexico.

Two articles deal with the comparative achievements of transfer students versus "native students" (*i.e.*, students who begin at the freshman level and obtain all their higher education at the same institution) at both the University of California and at the

University of Southern California. The pertinent findings of Giles M. Ruch, Dwight Baker, and Edward Ryce, "A Comparison of Scholarship Records of Junior College Transfers and Native Students of the University of California," *CalJSE* 4 (1928-1929): 201-213, and R. R. G. Watt and Frank C. Touton, "Relative Scholastic Achievement of Native Students and Junior College Transfers at the University of Southern California," *CalJSE* 5 (1929-1930): 243-248, were roughly the same and indicated that the "native" student had a great advantage over the transfer. Neither set of authors attempts to indicate the reasons for such advantage, but one could postulate that it resulted from difficulties of adjustment. If this be true, then the problem of adjustment from a semi-segregated high school to a large university of predominantly English-speaking students would put the Spanish-speaking student at a tremendous disadvantage scholastically, regardless of the quality of instruction received before entering the university. Of a like character, but dealing with a different set of circumstances, is Marion B. Smith's "Comparison of the Educational Attainments of Rural and Urban Populations of the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 29 (1948-1949): 125-136. The application of the Smith findings to a segregated school could be very enlightening. J. H. Bedford, "A Survey of Vocational Interest of California High School Students, Based on a Survey of Twelve Rural High Schools," *CalJSE* 5 (1929-1930): 47-66, reported on a representative cross-section of the state. Bedford found that there was no relationship between vocational interest or ambition on the one hand and vocational opportunities on the other.

An even more pertinent study is Allen W. Beach and Walter G. Beach, "Family Migratoriness and Child Behavior Based upon a Study of a Group of California Schools," *SSR* 21 (1936-1937): 503-523. The children subject to the study, in the Oakland-Berkeley area, had nothing in common economically, socially or linguistically, save that all moved often. The study indicates that the group was retarded even though of normal I.Q., that the scale of values was distinctly different from that of the sedentary students, and that the subject children had many other characteristics in common with one another but at variance with the sedentes. Many of the characteristics of this group are characteristics which have been allotted to the Spanish-speaking by a number of those who have written in the field. A similar study deals with Arizona migrants. E. D. Tetreau and Varden Fuller, "Some Factors Associated with the School Achievement of Children of Migrant Families,"

ElemSJ 42 (1942): 423-431, analyses the reasons for retardation of children of families who had moved to Arizona after 1930.

Emory S. Bogardus, "Second Generation Mexicans," *SSR* 13 (1928-1929): 276-283, noted that difficulty in school was one of the common features of the acculturation process, and in "Mexican Immigrants and the Quota," *SSR* 12 (1927-1928): 371-378, the same author called attention to the objections which school authorities and teachers raised with respect to unrestricted Mexican immigration. Eugene S. Richards, "Attitudes of College Students in the Southwest toward Ethnic Groups in the United States," *SSR* 35 (1950-1951): 22, and Edward S. McDonagh, "Status Levels of Mexicans," *SSR* 33 (1948-1949): 449-459, found that the term "Mexican" denoted low social status to the English-speaking students. It is interesting, too, that a survey of the trend in denominational education in California over a thirty-year period, as reported by Richard M. Benson, "Comparison of the Growth and Development Trends of Public and Denominational Secondary Schools in California from 1890 to 1920," *CalJSE* 7 (1931-1932): 277-284, shows that proportionately the Catholic schools lost more heavily than did the Protestant schools, at a time when Catholic Mexican immigration was becoming a major population factor. Smith makes no attempt to explain this apparent contradiction or discrepancy.

With respect to education in Mexico there is little of value, there having been found only two articles bearing on the topic. E. J. Cruz Márquez, "La educación rural en México," *Educación Rural* 2 (1942): 49-50, 96, adds little. Ulises Irigoyen, "El Coronel Miguel Ahumada, gobernante educador," *BolSocChi* 5 (1943-1944): 10-30, is a panegyric of the governor and indicates the great advances made in education during his administration.

With respect to the particular problem posed by the Spanish-speaking in education, John H. Milor, "Problem of a Junior High for Mexicans," *CalJSE* 16 (1941): 82-84, considers the question of segregation versus integration. He states that the development of junior high and high schools exclusively for "Mexican boys and girls . . . has benefitted them greatly," but was troubled over the question of the language, since facility in English was not one of the marked characteristics of such students. He returns to the same problem in "A Junior High for Mexican-Americans," *CalJSE* 20 (1945): 160, but he puts much more emphasis on the segregated school as a result of prejudice and discrimination, regardless of the rationale given by boards of education for the action. He further-

more discusses the curriculum in terms of the particular needs of the Spanish-speaking. Donovan Senter and Florence Hawley, "The Grammar School as the Basic Acculturating Influence for Native New Mexicans," *Social Forces* 24 (1945-1946): 398-407, concerns the rural schools in New Mexico in which the Manitos are geographically isolated and therefore segregated in the schools. Senter and Hawley see in the early grades a means by which acculturation can be more nearly achieved, and point out that the kind of program normally used in the rural schools was not as effective as a different kind of program could be. William E. McGorray, "The Needs of a Mexican Community," *CalJSE* 18 (1943): 349-350, concerns the Andrew Jackson High School, in a predominantly Spanish-speaking area of Los Angeles, and the curriculum which had been developed for the special situation. H. T. Manuel, "The Educational Problem Presented by the Spanish-Speaking Child of the South West," *S&S* 40 (July-December, 1934): 692-695, examines the meaning of the increasing Spanish-speaking school population in terms of school administration and teaching. More recently Henry W. Cooke surveyed school discrimination in "The Segregation of Mexican-American School Children in Southern California," *S&S* 67 (January-June, 1948): 417-421; the major portion of the study consists of a discussion of a court case in Orange County, California.

C. L. Yarbrough, "Age-Grade Status of Texas Children of Latin-American Descent," *JER* 40 (September, 1946): 14-27, indicates that this particular group is far behind its grade level, and Charles P. Loomis, "Ethnic Cleavages in the Southwest as Reflected in Two High Schools," *Sociometry* 6 (1943): 7-26, found the cleavages greater and based differently as the children progressed in school. Of particular interest with respect to the learning of English is "Exceptional State Laws: Arizona Naturalization Laws," *APSR* 12 (1917-1918): 676 (no author indicated); the object of the law in question was to promote the teaching and learning of English.

Some evidence of early concern with the problem of the Spanish-speaking is seen in Elmer Scott, "The Texas Council of State-wide Agencies," *The Journal of Social Forces* 1 (1923-1924): 264-265; it is a description of the Council, which consisted of representatives of various public and private agencies, and of the topics discussed by the eleven meetings of the Council in 1920-1922. One of the subjects for discussion was the "Mexican" in Texas. But those years were not ones in which the state agencies of the border

area were primarily concerned with the Spanish-speaking. Susan M. Dorsey, "California Commission for the Study of Educational Problems," *CalJSE* 5 (1929-1930): 393-400, discussed in some detail the plans which the Commission had decided upon for the study; nothing on the agenda indicated any concern with the question of the minority in education. Norman Fenton, in "Experiments of the Travelling Child Guidance Clinic of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research," *CalJSE* 5 (1929-1930): 401-408, did not mention Spanish-speaking children, or anything remotely connected with their particular and peculiar problems. Furthermore, Frank C. Touton in his brace of articles, "Research Projects on the Secondary School Level Carried on in California Cities during 1930-1931," *CalJSE* 7 (1931-1932): 86-111, and "Graduate Degrees, with Major Field in Education, Given during the Academic Year 1930-1931," *CalJSE* 7 (1931-1932): 112-128, listed no projects dealing with the problem.

Other articles of value:

- Carlson, Hilding B. and Norma Henderson, "The Intelligence of American Children of Mexican Parentage," *JASPsy* 45 (1950): 544-551.
- Garth, T. R. and H. D. Johnson, "The Intelligence and Achievement of Mexican Children in the United States," *JASPsy* 29 (1934): 222-229.
- Brunbaugh, Martin G., "An Educational Policy for Spanish-American Civilization," *Annals* 30 (July, 1910): 65-68.
- MacDonald, Howard, "Average Sizes of High School Sites in California," *CalJSE* 3 (1927-1928): 354.
- McKinney, Lillie G., "History of the Albuquerque Indian School," *NMHR* 20 (1945): 109-138, 207-226, 310-335.
- Reeve, Frank D., "The Old University of New Mexico at Santa Fe," *NMHR* 8 (1933): 201-210.

CHAPTER VIII

LAND USE

Land settlement and land utilization patterns in the border region are among the best indices of cultural difference and have been powerful influences on social characteristics. The Mexican side of the international boundary tends to have, particularly since the Revolution with its emphasis on community holdings, a different approach to land utilization than does the United States side; furthermore, the Spanish-speaking in the United States have a pattern which is sometimes slightly different and sometimes markedly different from their Anglo neighbors. These differences may be seen in ownership or leasing patterns, in the technology of land use, in types of crops produced, and in water use. There is no satisfactory publication which describes and analyses the differences in whole or in part, or which describes any particular aspect of land holding throughout the area. Even when all the available publications are consulted, only a partially satisfactory answer is obtained for various questions which arise with respect to land use.

Basic to land use throughout the region is water; the presence or absence of water resources determines within limits the pattern of utilization, since in no part of the area is there sufficient rainfall—either generally or seasonally—to carry on agricultural pursuits which are characteristic in other parts of Mexico or the United States.

Books and Monographs

United States

In the following discussion of available publications there will be some repetition of titles appearing in other sections, since it is felt that at least the major works shedding light on the subject under consideration should be given here even though they are included, for completeness sake, in other sections as well. Again, as is indicated in the section regarding history, the master-work for the region is Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1936. 525 pp.), for the discussion of the effects of aridity on land utilization. William Culp

Darrah, in his biography of John Wesley Powell and his work in the western regions, discusses Powell's concepts with respect to the relationship between water and land use; *Powell of the Colorado* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. 426 pp.) is extremely useful. For the particular topic under consideration, reference to the work of Powell himself, *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region* (Washington: Department of Interior, 1879. 208 pp. Originally published as House Executive Document 73, 45th Congress, 2nd Session), is invaluable.

A general work on the subject of aridity is Ivan Roy Tannehill, *Drought: Its Causes and Effects* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. 264 pp.), and one aspect of water resources in the area is Albert N. Williams, *The Water and the Power: Development of the Five Great Rivers of the West* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1951. 378 pp.). The closest approximation of a general history of irrigation on the United States side is Roy E. Huffman, *Irrigation Development and Public Water Policy* (New York: Ronald Press, 1953. 336 pp.). Charles A. Timm, *The International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico* (Austin, Texas: The University, 1941. 291 pp., a publication of the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences), includes some reference to irrigation along the Rio Grande. But the use of surface water is only one method of water utilization in arid regions; ground water and its accessibility is an important consideration. Walter Noy White, *Summary Report of the Survey of the Underground Waters of Texas* (Austin, Texas: State Board of Water Engineers, 1935. 28 pp., mimeographed), is a short survey of the findings of a cooperative venture between the Texas State Board of Water Engineers, the Engineering Experiment Station of Texas A&M, and the United States Geological Survey; the report was not optimistic. White, along with W. L. Broadhurst and J. W. Lang, produced a more substantial report in *Ground Water in the High Plains of Texas* (Austin: Texas Board of Water Engineers, 1940. 57 pp.), and more recently John R. Stockton and Stanley A. Arbingast, *Water Requirement Survey: Texas High Plains* (Austin, Texas: Bureau of Better Business Research, University of Texas, 1953. 100 pp., mimeographed), have given a study of water needs. The combined studies indicate that water resources are limited and the demands growing. One of the most thorough studies of a particular state is H. V. Smith, *The Climate of Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station, 1945. 112 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 197), in which a wide variety

of factors, including temperatures, length of growing seasons, precipitation from rain and snow and other data are presented.

Many of the works cited in the chapter devoted to history concern land utilization; this is particularly true of those dealing with cattle and cattlemen. Probably the best studies of land use itself as a part of the cattle industry are William Curry Holden, *The Spur Ranch: A Study of the Enclosed Ranch Phase of the Cattle Industry in Texas* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1934. 229 pp.), and Tom Lea's *The King Ranch* previously cited. Of the two, Lea is the much more thorough and pointed, particularly in Volume II in which he deals with the development of scientific ranching in South Texas. Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert, *We Fed Them Cactus* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954. 186 pp.) is an excellent commentary on sheep and cattle ranching, share-ranching, and other aspects of land use in eastern New Mexico; the title of the book indicates in part the arid nature of the area discussed.

Works which have been cited in another context, but which are also relevant here, are:

Cleland, Robert Glass, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1951. 365 pp. Revised edition). Cattle disappeared as the land came more and more under use for orchards and farms.

Robinson, W. W., *Ranchos Become Cities* (Pasadena: San Pasqual Press, 1939. 243 pp.). The disappearance of the "ranchos" or small holdings as the cities grew in southern California and absorbed the land.

Wickson, E. J., *Rural California* (New York: Macmillan, 1923. 399 pp.).

As has already been indicated, the manner in which land can be put to use is limited by the climatic conditions of the area. At least one of the limitations in the Texas border area is clearly demonstrated in J. O. Langford and Fred Gipson, *Big Bend: A Homesteader's Story* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952. 159 pp.), in which Langford describes his own experiences as a homesteader and comments on the mistakes made by himself and others in demanding more than the terrain and climate could give. Carey McWilliams looks at another aspect of the problem in his *Factories in the Field: The Story of the Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1939. 334 pp.). While he is primarily concerned with the problems of the migratory laborer, McWilliams examines the nature of land holding and land use

patterns; he concludes that California agriculture, unlike agriculture in other areas, is dominated by large commercial-type organizations operated on a factory basis, particularly in the irrigated areas. At the opposite extreme from the sections irrigated by modern facilities is the dry-land farming on the Zuñi Plateau of New Mexico. Orval E. Goodsell, of the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, investigated and reported in *An Economic Appraisal of Dry-Land Farming on the Zuñi Plateau, New Mexico* (Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1943. 57 pp. processed).

The various agricultural experiment stations have given some attention to the nature of land use and the type of farming along with the more technical aspects of agriculture. Probably the best of its kind, although somewhat outdated, is the two-part study by Byron Hunter, P. W. Cockerill, and H. B. Pingrey, *Types of Farming and Ranching Areas in New Mexico, Part I* (State College, New Mexico: New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts Agricultural Experiment Station, 1939. 68 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 261) and *Types of Farming and Ranching Areas in New Mexico, Part II* (State College, New Mexico: New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1939. 134 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin 267). For Texas there are C. A. Bonnen and F. F. Elliot, *Type of Farming Areas in Texas* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M College Agricultural Experiment Station, 1931. 84 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 427), which includes a description and analysis of types of farming and products, with maps by counties—and C. A. Bonnen and B. H. Thibodeaux, *A Description of the Agriculture and Type of Farming Areas in Texas* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Agricultural Experiment Station, 1937. 91 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 544). The latter work includes a short history of Texas agriculture and an exposition of the various factors which have influenced its development. L. A. Crawford and Edgar B. Hurd, *Types of Farming in California Analysed by Enterprises* (Berkeley: University of California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1941. 128 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 654) is roughly the same in terms of utility as those cited above, save that much of the material has no relevance for the border. Arizona began publishing an annual report in 1931; the emphasis is not on types of farming, but the discussion in each of the reports covers the nature of the production, price and production trends, acreages by crops and counties, and summaries of cash income. Each of the bulletins,

usually published in January of the year following that discussed, is rather short (15-20 pages) and is numbered along with the other Experiment Station Bulletins. (For the years 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949, for example, the bulletin numbers are 194, 202, 206, 211, and 220). While these Bulletins are inconvenient to use for the purpose of extracting land use information, they have the advantage of giving a long-range picture and recent data.

Other useful monographs on land use are:

- Landgraf, John L., *Land Use in the Ramah Area of New Mexico: An Anthropological Approach to Areal Study* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1954. Peabody Museum Papers Volume 42, No. 1).
- Nelson, Lowry, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952. 296 pp.).
- Robinson, W. W., *Land in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948. 291 pp.).
- State of California. Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credit, *Report* (Sacramento: 1916. 87 pp.).
- Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Cotton Production in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1947* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Agricultural Experiment Station, 1947. Experiment Station Miscellaneous Publication No. 36.).

It is a common assumption, supported by considerable data, that land use in part depends upon the tenure system employed. The most thorough work on the Southwest relevant to this concept is Harold Hoffsommer (ed.), *The Social and Economic Significance of Land Tenure in the Southwestern States: A Report of the Regional Land Tenure Research Project* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950. 666 pp.). Unfortunately, the "Southwest" in this study includes Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas only; other states with which this study is concerned are not included. R. L. Adams and William H. Smith, *Farm Tenancy in California and Methods of Leasing* (Berkeley: University of California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1941. 119 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 655) is somewhat out of date, as is Joe R. Motheral, *Recent Trends in Land Tenure in Texas* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944. 48 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 641). Motheral analyses the changes occurring between 1930 and 1940, and includes some data on the non-economic impacts of tenure. The two studies concerning El Cerrito by Olen Leonard,

The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish-American Village in New Mexico (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1948. 154 pp.), and by Olen Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico* (Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, 1941. 72 pp.) include material on land use and tenure. A greater number of such studies, concerning communities with widely varying systems of tenure, would go far toward answering some of the questions respecting land use.

But land use is not determined solely by climate and by tenure systems; another important aspect is the labor supply. A general study with the respect to one phase of the question is Charles Elson Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939. 192 pp.), which is concerned with long-term migration of rural groups from district to district and from rural areas to urban centers. A more pointed study for this guide is Malcolm Brown and Orin Cassmore, *Migratory Cotton Pickers in Arizona* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938. 104 pp.), an examination of the employment history of 518 families or unattached persons at work in Arizona cotton fields in January and February, 1938. Even though the data showed that economic reality in terms of total earnings was far below the economic expectations of the migrant worker, and that the gross earnings were miserably low, the family income was considerably above that to which the family was accustomed prior to migration.

Since most of the migrant workers are in the Spanish-speaking group, many references to the migrants are included in that chapter, which should be consulted in conjunction with this section. Other works not specifically concerning the Spanish-speaking are:

Cross, William T. and Dorothy Embry Cross, *Newcomers and Nomads in California* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1937. 149 pp.). The work is particularly concerned with the Federal Transient Service and various state agencies during the early 1930's.

Anderson, Nels, *Men on the Move* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. 357 pp.).

Webb, John N., *The Migratory-Casual Worker* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. 128 pp.).

Thomas, Howard E. and Florence Taylor, *Migrant Farm Labor in Colorado: A Study of Migratory Families* (New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1951).

Browder, Walter Gordon, *The Pattern of Internal Mobility in Texas: A Subregional Analysis* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1944. 164 pp.).

The opposite side of the migrant and land-use picture is the need and demand for labor. An excellent study of the relationship between need and supply is Allan G. Harper, Andrew R. Cordova and Kalervo Oberg, *Men and Resources in the Middle Rio Grande Valley* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943. 156 pp.). The area concerned is the oldest continuously farmed land in the United States. Eastin Nelson and Frederic Meyers moved about a thousand miles down the river to obtain their data for *Labor Requirements and Labor Resources in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1950. 33 pp. Inter-American Education Occasional Papers VI); the requirements for agricultural labor vary from about 5,000 hands in September to a high of about 128,000 in early August. The seasonal variations in California, as indicated by an older study, were not so great, but the fluctuation in one section of the state from a low of about 900,000 man days per month in November to a high of over 3,000,000 man days in September means that any condition which prevented the migratory flow would seriously affect the land-use patterns. The California information is in R. L. Adams, *Seasonal Labor Requirements for California Crops* (Berkeley: University of California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1938. 28 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 623.). Arizona, too, has had a problem of meeting the demands for labor, and at times the situation has been critical, according to E. D. Tetreau, *Wanted—Man Power for Arizona Farms* (Tucson: University of Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station, 1942. 36 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 186). A concomitant problem is that of developing a workable system which will assure that the settler will remain and make proper use of it once he is allowed to move onto new or reclaimed land. In areas of irrigation projects this is a critical problem; E. D. Tetreau, *Selecting Arizona Settlers* (Tucson: University of Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station, 1945. 28 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 196), gives some criteria which public and private agencies might use for this purpose.

Other short monographs relevant to the subject are:

Barr, George W. (compiler), *Conserving and Developing Arizona's Agricultural Wealth* (Tucson: University of Arizona Agricultural

- Experiment Station, 1946. 30 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 205). Prepared by the Post-War Planning Committee of the Arizona State Resources and Planning Board.
- Adams, R. L. and J. L. Wann, *Part-Time Farming for Income* (Berkeley: University of California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1934. 46 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 581).
- Stephens, W. P., *Farm Organizations and Incomes in the Mesilla Valley, New Mexico* (State College, New Mexico: New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts Agricultural Experiment Station, 1953. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 374).
- Harris, Karl, *Factors that Give Value to Land or Basic Land Values* (Tucson: University of Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station, 1949. 18 pp. Experiment Station Bulletin No. 223).

Mexico

Land, its utilization and the manner of its holding, has been one of the major problems with which the Mexican people and government have had to contend during the past hundred years. One of the principal difficulties has stemmed from the dearth of good arable land, for only a small portion of the total level land area in the nation can be used for agricultural purposes in view of the aridity; this is particularly true in the border region. With the exception of a relatively few places, the entire border area on the Mexican side must depend upon irrigation for agricultural, in contradistinction to pastoral, activities and as a consequence the land-holding system which developed in the area during the colonial and early national period was essentially that of extremely large ranches for the production of cattle. The Mexican Revolution, however, had as one of its basic precepts the creation of a class of small landholders, either through the medium of the *ejido*—the community holding—or through private ownership, and this brought some emphasis on irrigation projects as well as a partial destruction of the large ranch holdings. The nature and extent of the influence exercised in the area by the *haciendas* is certainly not clear; no thorough study of the *hacienda* system in any part of Mexico has been completed to date, although many scholars, both Mexican and United States, consider an understanding of the system to be the most important single factor in the understanding of modern Mexico. Conversely, the influence of the revolutionary program of communal holdings on values, attitudes, and social systems has been the subject of more emotional nonsense than of serious analytical study. The plain and unfortunate fact of the matter is that this is an area in which there

is an enormous need for fundamental research and an area in which, according to the information presently available, virtually nothing is being done.

There is, of course, voluminous literature on the general agricultural or land problem in Mexico; some of the most pertinent will be cited here. One of the best, to give some perspective to the situation as it existed in the late nineteenth century, is Antonio García Cubas, *Cuadro geográfico, estadístico, descriptivo é histórico de Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (Mexico: Oficina Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1884. 474 pp.), which includes, on a state and regional basis, considerable information concerning agricultural systems and production. Andrés Molina Enríquez, *Los grandes problemas nacionales* (Mexico: Imprenta de A. Carranza é Hijos, 1909. 361 pp.) and Wistano Luis Orozco, *Legislación y jurisprudencia sobre terrenos baldíos* (Mexico: Imp. de "El Tiempo," 1895. 2 volumes), are both highly critical of the tenure and production systems which existed prior to the Revolution. George M. McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1923. 204 pp.), is useful and generally valuable, but it casts little light on many of the questions which one could raise with respect to the impact of various "systems." Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, *El problema agrario de México* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1954. 6th edition. 564 pp.) is one of the most thorough studies since the Revolution of the complete agricultural system. Probably the best work on recent Mexico is Nathan C. Whetten's *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. 671 pp.). The place of agriculture in the total economic picture, both actual and potential, is covered in *Combined Mexican Working Party, The Economic Development of Mexico* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953. 392 pp.).

The agricultural reform program—with its enormous political, economic and social implications—has generated the writing of a sizable library, the majority of productions being polemical in nature. One of the most interesting little books on the subject is Henrik F. Infield and Koka Freier, *People in Ejidos* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1954. 151 pp.) Infield and Freier were interested primarily in cooperative farming ventures and the experiences of the cooperatives as farming agencies; their book is the report of their travels through various parts of Mexico visiting ejidos; included are ejidos in both Tamaulipas and Coahuila. Tom Gill's *Land Hunger in Mexico* (Washington: Charles Lathrop Pack Forestry Foundation, 1951. 86 pp.) is concerned principally with

conservation, particularly with the part forests play in proper land management. Probably the best single work on the reform program, in all its implications, is Clarence Senior, *Land Reform and Democracy* (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1958. 269 pp.). Many years ago Senior became interested in the Laguna district of Coahuila, and after a visit to the region published *Democracy Comes to a Cotton Kingdom: The Story of Mexico's La Laguna* (Mexico: Centro de Estudios Pedagógicos é Hispanoamericanos, 1940. 56 pp.), the central theme of which was that the land reform program in the region was an outstanding success. At that point in time the program had just begun; twenty years later Senior made another visit and undertook a much more intensive study; the result is his *Land Reform and Democracy*. The years have made Senior more objective and more analytical; his more recent work shows that he still has a strong pro-ejido bias, but his analysis is thorough and his conclusions moderate.

Another aspect of reform is shown in Manuel de Castillo Negrete, *Robos judiciales* (Mexico: Tip. H. Barralas, 1930. 130 pp.). Castillo Negrete was involved in a lawsuit concerning the ownership of lands near San Pedro, Coahuila, and a portion of the lands in question were being affected by the land reform program; his book is essentially a plea to the President for justice. Biased though it is, the work points clearly to some of the major problems involved in the land reform program. The point of view of the recipient of the advantages of land reform in the Laguna district is well expressed in the understandably biased *Despertar Lagunero: libro que relata la lucha y triunfo de la revolución en la camarca lagunera* (Mexico: Sindicato y el Consejo Técnico de los Trabajadores de los Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1937. 287 pp.), a well-illustrated propaganda publication designed to stimulate further reform.

The need for reform is shown in the general works already listed, particularly those of Mendieta y Núñez, McBride, Orozco, and Molina Enríquez; additional indications of the need for reform may be found in Mexico: Secretario de Fomento, *Exposición que hace el Secretario de Fomento sobre la colonización de la Baja California* (Mexico: Oficina Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1887. 113 pp.). This document is a justification, in the face of widespread criticism, of colonization contracts recently let; the public charges were that the contracts were detrimental to the Mexican economy at large and were unwarranted monopolies. The same theme is treated in the very short Luis Hijar y Haro, *Las compa-*

las deslindadoras y el estado agrario de la Baja California al principio en 1910 la revolución económico-social en México (Mexico: Empresa editorial de Ingeniería y Arquitectura, 1937. 16 pp.), the theme of which is that the Díaz surveying companies had been disadvantageous for proper land utilization in the peninsula. A further aspect of the need for reform is shown in Mexico: Comisión Nacional de Irrigación, *Estudio agrícola del proyecto Río Mante* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1929. 95 pp.).

Four small studies concern the legal status of reform in four of the border states in the 1950's. All four are National Autonomous University of Mexico theses in law, all devote roughly half the space to an examination of the background and the remainder to the legal questions involved, and all four are gently optimistic. These publications, all published by the University, are: Miguel Río Aguilera, *Perfil de la reforma agraria en el Estado de Sonora* (Mexico: 1955. 223 pp.), Mauricio Rodríguez, *El problema agrario en Coahuila* (Mexico: 1951. 115 pp.), Hildegardo de la Peña Villarreal, *El problema agrario en el norte del Estado de Coahuila* (Mexico: 1957. 84 pp.), and Cristóbal Guevara Delmas, *Perfiles de la reforma agraria en Tamaulipas* (Mexico: 1951. 165 pp.).

Other studies dealing with reform are:

Congreso Nacional Revolucionario de Derecho Agrario, *Memoria* (Mexico: Congreso Nacional Revolucionario de Derecho Agrario, 1946. 509 pp.). The deliberations of the first congress held, in which the focus was the reform program and the problems created and still to be met.

Fernández y Fernández, Ramón, *El problema creado por la reforma agraria de México* (Mexico: Banco Nacional de Crédito Agrícola, 1941. 56 pp.). A critical review of trends and policies, with 31 recommendations for policy changes. The major point was that the goal of small holdings should be abandoned, and the emphasis put on the large collectives (in contradistinction to the ejidos in which each individual was assigned a plot to work) and on medium-sized holdings in fee simple. Fernández has underscored this theme in numerous articles.

Mendieta y Núñez, Lucio, *El sistema agrario-constitucional: Explicación é interpretación del artículo 27 de la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos en sus preceptos agrarios* (Mexico: Porrua, 1940. 2nd edition, 300 pp.).

Silva Herzog, Jesús, *Nueve estudios mexicanos* (Mexico: Imp. Universitaria, 1953. 315 pp.). One of the studies concerns agriculture.

Climatic conditions and irrigation systems are not covered succinctly in any single publication. The standard geographies of Vivó

and Tamayo, cited in another section, are useful for hydrographic information and for general climatic data. The most convenient work on irrigation itself is Antonio L. Rodríguez, *El desarrollo y operación de los sistemas de riego en México* (Mexico: Departamento de Información Técnica de la Comisión Nacional de Irrigación, 1942. 43 pp.), which is a summary of the irrigation districts throughout the nation. Since its publication, however, a great deal has been done with respect to irrigation. The most thorough analysis of water availability in a section is W. V. Turnage and T. D. Mallery, *An Analysis of Rainfall in the Sonoran Desert and Adjacent Territory* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941. 29 pp.).

The Laguna district in the Torreón area has been the most satisfactorily covered, largely because of the dramatic manner in which the land was expropriated, making the region something of an experimental showpiece. In addition to Clarence Senior's works, Isabel Kelly's two studies on the Laguna, *Informe preliminar del proyecto de habitación en la Laguna, Ejido de El Cuije, cercano a Torreón, Coahuila* (Mexico: Instituto de Asuntos Interamericanos, 1953. Mimeographed), and *Notas acerca de la cultura lagunera* (Mexico: Instituto de Asuntos Interamericanos, 1954. 66 pp. Mimeographed) touch on some of the tissues involved in land-use in an irrigated area. Gonzalo Blanco Macías (compiler), *La Laguna y su desarrollo bajo el sistema colectivo de trabajo* (Torreón: Montauriol, 1940. 130 pp.), which consists of a collection of articles and reports from writers who saw only the advantages, is a highly favorable account. Not so enthusiastic is Marte R. Gómez, *La región lagunera* (Mexico: Germinal, Sociedad Agronómica Mexicana, 1941. 100 pp.). This is a special report by the then-new Minister of Agriculture, who made some "constructive criticisms" of the experiment in collectivity while he commented upon some of the more violent attacks appearing in the public press. The Banco Nacional de Crédito Ejidal has sponsored a number of conferences with respect to the Laguna collective farming experiment; the most useful publication coming from these conferences is the report from the *Fourth Period of Conferences on Collective Farming in the Laguna Region* (Torreón: Banco Nacional de Crédito Ejidal, 1941. 75 pp. Mimeographed).

Still needing clarification are the land use patterns, the methods of cultivation, the nature of tenure, and other such questions in the great irrigation districts in the border area; these include the Delicias region in Chihuahua, the Juárez Valley in Chihuahua,

the relatively new (as well as the older) areas irrigated from the Fuerte, Sinaloa and Yaqui Rivers on the west coast, and the lower Rio Grande section near Matamoros. In addition there are numerous small regions.

Two useful studies with respect to the production of a particular crop should be mentioned, because of their importance with respect to the border. Francisco Argüello Castañeda, *Problemas económicos de algodón* (Mexico: Editorial América, 1946. 246 pp.), discusses the conditions and problems relating to prices, production, credit, marketing and foreign trade in cotton. Alfonso Contreras Arias, *El trigo en Mexico: El clima* (Mexico: Banco Nacional de Crédito Agrícola, 1941. 257 pp.), is a detailed study of the influence of climate on the production of wheat. Geographic characteristics and locations are given for the nine major wheat producing areas. In addition, a general study of agricultural production, Ricardo Villarreal L., *Regiones económicas agrícolas de la república mexicana* (Tacubaya, D. F.: Talleres de la Oficina de Publicaciones y Propaganda, 1936. 802 pp.), contains a great deal of information relative to agricultural conditions in the border area.

The Rockefeller Foundation for many years has been carrying on agricultural experimentation in various regions of Mexico; among those in which work is being done are the Laguna district and the wheat producing regions of Sonora. The annual reports of the Mexican Agricultural Program are generally somewhat technical, stressing the various experimental phases and results, but they are useful for any scholar interested in understanding some of the complexities of the border agricultural situation.

The public press in Mexico has a great deal to say about the adverse effects of internal and external migration on the proper use of land and on agricultural production, but serious studies with respect to the situation are limited. Guadalupe Rivera Marín, *El Mercado de trabajo: relaciones obrero-patronales* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1955. 314 pp.), makes some reference to the situation, but only obliquely. The most nearly satisfactory monograph is José Lázaro Salinas, *La emigración de braceros; visión objetiva de un problema mexicano* (Mexico: Privately printed, 1955. 204 pp.), in which he holds that the bracero movement has had no deleterious effect on land use. But this "objective view" has more bias than basic scientific research, and the findings are questionable.

Mexican Government Documents

The following publications by the Mexican government are useful:

- Mexico. Dirección General de Estadística, *Predios agrícolas de mas de 5 hectareas, según la nacionalidad de los propietarios* (Revista Estadística 42 (1942): 3-4). A preliminary table from the 1940 census data, showing the ownership of agricultural property.
- Mexico. Dirección General de Estadística, *Segundo censo ejidal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (Mexico: Secretaría de la Economía Nacional, various dates, various pages). In 1942 and 1943, the ejidal censuses for all the states were published. The tables cover in detail the population, family characteristics, the language, and the economic aspects of the ejidos. The census was taken in early March, 1940.
- Mexico. Dirección General de Estadística, *Medidas regionales: Censo agrícola-ganadero de 1930* (Mexico: Imp. "Cultura," 1933. 295 pp.).
- Mexico. Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería, *Informe* (Mexico: Sec. Agricultura y Ganadería, 1951). Statistics on agriculture and stock raising during the Alemán administration, including treaties with the United States with respect to water and trade. Also statistics on land in Chihuahua and Sonora.
- Mexico. Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería, *Memoria, 1940-1941* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1941. 203 pp.). Official statements concerning the recent past land policy, with statistical summaries by states of the progress of the land distribution program and adjustments from 1915 to the end of 1940. The Department publishes a *Memoria* each year.
- Mexico. Banco Nacional de Crédito Ejidal, *El sistema de producción colectiva en los ejidos del Valle del Yaqui, Sonora* (Mexico: Banco Nacional de Crédito Ejidal, 1945. 79 pp.). A detailed account of the agricultural economy of the Yaqui Valley under the large-scale ejidal program begun in 1935.
- Mexico. Banco Nacional de Crédito Ejidal, *Las sociedades locales de crédito y los sistemas de explotación del ejido* (Mexico: Banco Nacional de Crédito Ejidal, 1941. 67 pp.). A handbook.
- Mexico. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *Ley Orgánica de la fracción I del artículo 27; su reglamento con documentos anexos* (Mexico: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1926. 149 pp.). Article 27 is the constitutional provision under which the ejidal program was instituted.

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

The following impinge on the questions under consideration:

- Ashburn, Karl E., *The Development of Cotton Production in Texas* (Ph.D. Thesis, Duke University, 1934).
 Bailey, Wilfrid C., *A Study of a Texas Panhandle Community: A Preliminary Report on Cotton Center, Texas* (Ms., Values Studies Office, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1951).
 Foster, Maurice H., *History of Mormon Settlements in Mexico and New Mexico* (Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1937).
 Geertz, Clifford J., *Drought, Death and Alcohol in Five Southwestern Cultures* (Ms., Values Studies Office, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1951).

Articles in Journals

United States

Some excellent material may be found among the journal articles. Two general studies with respect to communities and land use should be mentioned, even though one makes no reference to the border area. Conrad M. Arensburg, "American Communities," *AA* 57(1955): 1143-1161, examines communities in the United States in terms of the cultural backgrounds which brought the communities into existence. Arensburg uses as his prime examples communities in New England and in Virginia, but makes passing reference to some in the Midwest as well; more importantly for the purpose of this guide, he gives a good working definition of communities in terms of space and land use. Wilfrid C. Bailey, "Cotton Center, Texas, and the Late Agricultural Settlement of the Texas Panhandle and New Mexico," *TJS* 4 (1952): 482-486, is based upon a portion of the study undertaken through the Harvard University Values Studies Office of the Laboratory of Social Relations.

The following articles respecting irrigation and water problems are useful:

- Hutchins, Wells O., "The Community Acequia: Its Origin and Development," *SWHQ* 31 (1927-1928): 261-284. Irrigation organization, important to New Mexico and other states in the area.
 Sears, Alfred B., "The Desert Threat in the Southern Great Plains: The Historical Implication of Soil Erosion," *AgHist* 15 (1941): 1-11.
 Stephenson, W. A., "Appropriation of Water in Arid Regions," *SIWSSQ* 18 (1937-1938): 215-226. Growth of the doctrine of prior rights.

- Tetreau, E. D., "Social Organization in Arizona's Irrigated Areas," *Rural Sociology* 5 (1940): 192-205. More than ten agricultural households per square mile of irrigated land. Two-thirds of all agricultural households were laborers' households. Commercial agriculture a severe competitor to family farming.
- Tetreau, E. D., "The People of Arizona Irrigated Areas," *Rural Sociology* 3 (1938): 177-187. Analysis of the composition and movement of farm people in the area, 1929-1937. Some shift from urban centers. Most farmers got their experience elsewhere, in non-irrigated districts.
- Titleman, Edward D., "The First Irrigation Law Suit," *NMHR* 2 (1927): 363-368. Soon after American occupation of New Mexico, suit began between two Indian pueblos over water rights both claimed for 200 years, and which had been the source of open war between them. Suit settled in 1857, but the settlement apparently was forgotten, and the quarrel came up again in 1917, at which time no one concerned knew of the earlier case.

Land use with respect to stock-raising is the subject of the following:

- Rickard, John Allison, "Hazards of Ranching on the South Plains," *SWHQ* 37 (1933-1934): 313-319. Short article on fires, droughts, etc., as difficulties in ranching on South Plains, including part of New Mexico.
- Schreiner, Charles III, "The Background and Development of Brahman Cattle in Texas," *SWHQ* 52 (1948-1949): 427-443. Interesting development and change of cattle breeds, partly along the border.
- True, C. Allen and William J. Hammond, "The War and the Cattle Industry of the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 23 (1942-1943): 16-26.
- Waggoner, J. J., "Development of the Cattle Industry in Southern Arizona, 1870's and 80's," *NMHR* 26 (1951): 204-224.

Some aspects of tenure are covered in the following:

- Allen, R. H., "The Spanish Land-Grant System as an Influence in the Agricultural Development of California," *AgHist* 9 (1935): 127-142.
- Ashburn, Karl E., "Economic and Social Aspects of Farm Tenancy in Texas," *SWSSQ* 15 (1934-1935): 298-306.
- Barger, J. Wheeler, "Written Farm Leases in Texas," *SWSSQ* 28 (1947-1948): 166-170. Attempts made to formalize leasing procedures.
- Motheral, Joe R., "Notice of Termination—A Farm Lease Problem in Texas," *SWSSQ* 28 (1947-1948): 20-35.
- Keleher, W. A., "Laws of the New Mexico Land Grant," *NMHR* 4 (1929): 350-371.

- Southern, John H. and Joe R. Motheral, "Land for Texas Veterans," *SWSSQ* 28 (1947-1948): 235-243.
- Southern, John H., "Some Tenure Implications of Wartime Land Transfers in the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 28 (1947-1948): 145-154.
- Standing, T. B., "Some Recent Changes in Agriculture with Particular Reference to the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 22 (1941-1942): 273-280. Technological change, and change in land tenure patterns.

Farm labor as it impinges on land use is discussed in:

- Benedict, M. R., "The Problem of Stabilizing the Migrant Farm Laborer of California," *Rural Sociology* 3 (1938): 188-194. Examination of possible method to so stabilize.
- Jamieson, Stuart M., "A Settlement of Rural Migrant Families in the Sacramento Valley, California," *Rural Sociology* 7 (1942): 49-61. Typical settlement of Dust Bowl (native white) families. Adjustment problems much like earlier ethnic groups. Discriminated against, few have any but seasonal labor, most depend upon relief part of the year. While this is an area outside of the border region, the data are good for comparative purposes.
- Taylor, Paul and Tom Vasey, "Contemporary Background of California Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology* 1 (1936): 401-419. Comparison with Iowa and Mississippi. Development of rural propertyless peripatetic farm labor in California in contrast to Mississippi.
- Tetreau, E. D., "Profile of Farm Wage Rates in the Southwest," *Rural Sociology* 4 (1939): 36-42. All Southwest greater (1936-1938) than in Old South. California 3.75 times as great as South Carolina. From Carolinas west, a gradual increase in rates, with an abrupt rise in Arizona and California. Some factors: greater ability to pay, competition with industry, loss of family labor pattern.
- Tetreau, E. D., "Wartime Changes in Arizona Farm Labor," *SSR* 28 (1943-1944): 384-396. Situation from 1940-1943, indicating change in nature of farm laboring man, sources of labor supply, change in crop planting, and in wage scales. In addition, comments on general farm problems. Table of comparative wages, 1941-1944, in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California.
- Waters, Lawrence Leslie, "Transient Mexican Agricultural Labor," *SWSSQ* 22 (1941-1942): 49-66. A rapid and concise survey of the fields of labor in which the transients are involved, and some of the problems in connection with that type labor.

Some data on the subject of land-use planning and classification may be found in:

- Oberg, Kalervo, "Cultural Factors and Land-Use Planning in Cuba Valley, New Mexico," *Rural Sociology* 5 (1940): 438-448. Two

distinct groups: settled Hispanos on irrigable land, Anglos on dry land for about twenty years. Economic distress among the Hispanos arising from increasing population, declining markets, decrease in physical resources and land and range.

- Winslow, David C., "Classification of Farms in the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 30 (1949-1950): 169-174. Classification according to shape and size, not products or management. General thesis that if such classifications can be made in the southwest, they could be made of universal application because of the variations in terrain.
- Winslow, David C., "Application of Land Use Capability Data by a Soil Conservation District on Two New Mexico Farms," *SWSSQ* 27 (1946-1947): 385-388.

Other articles which may be of use on the general subject:

- Elliot, Edwin A., "The Development of a Texas Cotton Plantation," *SWSSQ* 14 (1933-1934): 1-14.
- Foscue, Edwin, "Agricultural History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley Region," *AgHist* 8 (1934): 124-137. Concerns both the U.S. and the Mexican side. Generally indicates that the region slighted during the colonial period, that there was a little flurry during the Civil War, but that during most of the 19th century little was done, and that only in the twentieth has any major production taken place.
- Gile, Buford M., "Current Trends and a Look at the Future of Agriculture in the West South Central Region," *SWSSQ* 31 (1950-1951): 24-29. Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi.
- Julian, George W., "Land Stealing in New Mexico," *NAR* 145 (1887): 2-31.
- Mosk, Sanford H., "Agriculture in New Mexico," *JEH* 2 (December, 1942): 35-51.
- Simms, D. Harper, "Dust Bowlers Get a Third Chance," *LPR* 12 (1941): 11-14.
- Tetreau, E. D., "Goals for Agriculture in the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 3 (1935-1936): 45-50.

Mexico

Mexican agriculture has been heavily influenced by the nature of the agrarian reform program instituted during the Mexican Revolution; at least a portion of that reform movement was based upon experiences in the border region and much of the demand for reform was formulated by men coming from the northern states. The early beginnings of modern reform are discussed in Charles C. Cumberland, "Genesis of Mexican Agrarian Reform," *Historian* 14 (1952): 209-232. After the reform movement was be-

gun, and particularly during the thirties and forward with the reclamation of land through the medium of irrigation systems, the Mexican agriculturist was confronted with the major problem of technological change. Manuel Gamio, "An Analysis of Social Processes and the Obstacles to Agricultural Progress in Mexico," *Rural Sociology* 2 (1937): 143-147, insisted that the Mexican rural culture pattern made any expectation of rapid technological change completely unrealistic; studies which would prove or disprove Gamio's thesis are virtually non-existent, but general observations of the small landholding pattern would tend to support it.

Whether the ejidal system, either in the border region or in Mexico in general, has proved to be beneficial is a question which has been the subject of hot debate in Mexico. Francisco Frola, "Los ejidos colectivos en México," *América* 19, No. 1 (July, 1943): 39-41, takes the position that the collectives, particularly in the Yaqui Valley during the Cárdenas and Avila Camacho administrations, had been a huge success. Miguel Othón de Mendizábal, "La reforma agraria desde el punto de vista económica," *RevEcon* 5 (1942): 22-29, is not quite as sanguine, but his general conclusion is that the per capita production of food had probably increased since 1910. Merrill Rippey, "Land Tenure and Reform in Modern Mexico," *AgHist* 27 (1953): 55-61, comes to the same conclusion. Ramón Fernández y Fernández, however, is very pessimistic concerning the fragmentation aspects of the ejidal program. In "Land Tenure in Mexico," *JFE* 25 (1943): 219-234, he examines the nature and experience of the agrarian program, and stresses the unfortunate results stemming from the excessively small holdings. In "The 'Ejido' is not Mexico's Way Out," *MAR* 9 (1941): 12-14, 56, he insists that the land has not been properly worked under the program, and that national agricultural production has declined as a consequence; he further holds that the marginal lands which are often a part of an ejido can be worked profitably only on a large-scale factory basis.

Land use with respect to pastoral activities has received only cursory treatment. Pedro Zuloaga, "Aspectos del Estado de Chihuahua," *Hoy*, May 3, 1941: 22-23, 81, gives the more attractive features of pre-revolutionary cattle haciendas in Chihuahua, but the article is scarcely scholarly. A more substantial work is Ben F. Lemert and Rose V. Lemert, "A Hacienda in Mexico," *JournGeog* 35 (1936): 343-350, which analyses the land-use pattern on a large holding near Saltillo.

Other articles pertinent to this subject are:

- Benassini, Aurelio, "Potencialidad agrícola de la región costera de los estados de Sonora y Sinaloa," *IrrMex* 23 (1942): 89-103. Actualities and potentialities, with maps and charts.
- Dicken, Samuel N., "Galeana: A Mexican Highland Community," *JournGeog* 34 (1935): 140-147. Physical background and land utilization in a village of about 1600 persons, with a detailed land-use map.
- Hewes, Leslie, "Huepac: An Agricultural Village of Sonora, Mexico," *EconGeog* 11 (1935): 284-292. Land use, vegetation, climate, settlement patterns, irrigation, stock raising, and other aspects in a village of about 700 mestizos.

The Laguna district has received more attention than any other single agricultural district in the Mexican border area. Among the most useful articles concerning the area are:

- Blanco Macías, Gonzalo, "The Ejido at Work Down Mexico Way," *LPR* 3 (1940): 18-22. Description of a *lagunera* collective.
- Fernández y Fernández, Ramón, "El comercio del trigo en la Comarca Lagunera," *MexAg* 2 (1940): 19-54. Serious study of production, prices and milling, urging adjustment of railway tariffs to encourage milling. Collective can be called a success only when it can match the competition of private farms.
- Garlock, Lorene A., "Agricultural economy of the Laguna Region," *EconGeog* 20 (1944): 296-304. Physical conditions, irrigation methods, crop production and animal husbandry.
- Garlock, Lorene A., "Development of the Laguna Region," *EconGeog* 20 (1944): 221-227. Evolution of land-use from the large landholdings to that of the cooperative ejidos.
- López Zamora, Emilio, "El problema lagunero," *Futuro* 49 (March 1940): 40-41, 56. Discussion of some of the difficulties in adjusting production to the needs of the present population.
- Anonymous, "Costo de la vida en la comarca lagunera," *RevEstad* 3 (1940): 155-158. Results of an investigation of 328 families.

For specific aspects of irrigation in the border region, see:

- Higbee, Edward C., "Watering Mexico's Deserts," *AgAm* 1 (1941): 11-14. Plans for spending over 11 million dollars for irrigation in northern Mexico.
- Ives, Ronald L., "Desert Floods in the Sonoyta Valley," *AJSci* 31-32 (1936): 349-360. Analysis of the types of floods and the causes.
- Mallery, T. D., "Rainfall Records for the Sonoran Desert," Part I, *Ecology* 17 (1936): 110-122, Part II, 17 (1936): 212-216. Detailed rainfall study of Sonora desert, with discussion of types of vegetation, etc., at 22 rainfall stations. Tables giving average precipi-

- tation, seasonal and annual. Part II is a continuation, with data to December, 1935.
- Margáin Talavera, Luis, "Obras en el valle del bajo Río Bravo," *BolInsFiscal*, no. 62: 38-43; no. 65: 24-34; no. 67: 30-42; no. 72: 26-29, all in 1941. A continued report on the agricultural and irrigation development in the Matamoros area in northern Tamaulipas, Lower Rio Grande Valley. The report is optimistic and favorable to the program, including resettlement.
- Ochoa Velázquez, Alfonso, "Estudio agrológico de gran visión del proyecto de riego de La Laguna, Tula, Tamps., 1948," *IngHid* 2 (1948): 68-79. Hydrography, soils, communications, population, sanitation and land tenure; distribution of irrigation. Charts—Maps.
- Oribe Alba, Adolfo, "Water for the Thirsty Lands of Mexico," *ForComW* 10 (June 5, 1943): 6-7, 34. Irrigation developments in Mexico, with photographs.
- Osorio, B. F., "Nuevas industrias mexicanas. La obtención del agua en Baja California," *Ciencia*, #1-3 (August 15, 1946): 43.
- Pasquel, Francisco I., "Distribución y clasificación de las aguas del subsuelo de la camarca lagunera," *BolSocMexGeoEstad* 73 (Jan.-June, 1952): 125.
- Riquelme, Eugenio, "Aspectos económicos de la irrigación en México," *InvEcon* 9 (1949): 1-15. Particularly irrigation in the northwest.
- Riquelme Inda, Julio, "El problema del agua en la región mexicana del Colorado, B.C.," *BolSocMexGeoEstad* 60 (1945): 509-523. Brief sketch of the irrigation development in the Mexican part of the Lower Colorado River basin; principal thesis that Mexico not getting a fair share of the water from the river.
- Rodríguez L., Antonio, "Aspectos económicos de la irrigación," *IrrMex* 23 (1942): 57-73. Discussion of private versus public financing, and economic results of irrigation in Mexico.
- Ruge, R., "Proyectos de irrigación y posibilidades agrícolas en la cuenca del río de Sinaloa, Sin.," *BolSocMexGeoEstad* 65 (1948): 119-139. Estimated that 150,000 hectares may be irrigated; details of precipitation and hydrology.
- Tamayo, Jorge L., "Importancia de la hidrología y necesidad de fomen-
tar sus estudios," *BolSocMexGeoEstad* 55 (1941): 7-36. A discussion of hydrology in Mexico, by one of Mexico's best-known geographers, and the necessity of making a thorough study of her water resources.
- Tamayo, Jorge L., "Las aguas internacionales del norte de Mexico y el Tratado de 1944," *TriEcon* 12 (1945): 466-487. This distinguished Mexican geographer contends that the treaty is favorable to Mexico and should be accepted; that unlike the 1906 treaty, the 1944 treaty does not destroy national honor. Texts of both the 1906 and the 1944 treaties are appended.

- Timm, Charles A., "Some International Problems Arising from Water Diversion on the United States-Mexican Boundary," *SWSSQ* 13 (1932-1933): 1-15. One aspect of the problem of using the water for irrigation.
- Vargas, J. Octavio, "La irrigación ejidal," *MexAg* 3 (1941): 333-341. Need for more small irrigation projects to give aid to the small ejidos.
- Wylie, Kathryn H., "Land, Credit, and Irrigation Policy in Mexico," *ForAgri* 19 (October, 1946): 138-146. Summary of policy prior to 1946.

For particular products, see:

- Escobar, Abelardo, "Costo medio del cultivo del algodón por hectarea en el valle de Juárez," *AgriMex* 7 (July, 1943): 25-27. Estimates under "normal conditions."
- Garlock, Lorene A., "Cotton in the Economy of Mexico," *EconGeog* 20 (1944): 70-77. Sketchy analysis by regions; statistical tables of production, trade, exports, yield per acre.
- Rulfo, Juan M., "El futuro del algodón mexicano," *BolMDER* no. 179: 178-192; 180: 281-294; 181: 349-364 (All in 1941). Searching analysis of cotton production and consumption, rather pessimistic in vein.
- Smith, Mervin C., "The Mexican Beef-Cattle Industry," *ForAgri* 8 (1944): 243-265. Production and distribution, with statistical tables.
- Wylie, Kathryn H., "Vegetable Production along the Pan-American Highway in Mexico," *ForAgri* 10 (1946): 181-184. Descriptive article on climate, soils, and methods of production for preparation and shipment of vegetables from this area to the U. S.
- Anonymous, "El algodón mexicano; sus necesidades de exportación," *RevEcon* 4 (1941): 29-31. A criticism of the U. S. cotton import restrictions, pleading for more export to the U. S. as a requirement for proper development of cotton.

Other journal articles impinging on the question:

- Delgado Hernández, Felipe, "Estudio sobre la rehabilitación económico-agrícola de la zona correspondiente a las tribus yaquis," *BolSoc-MexGeoEstad* 72 (1951): 115-144.
- González Santos, Armando, "Situación del crédito en el Noroeste de México," *ProbAgri* 1 (January-March, 1950): 121-164. In Nayarit, Sinaloa, Sonora, Baja California Norte and Baja California Sur. Examination of the peculiar or unique elements in each area.
- Tannenbaum, Frank, "Land Reform in Mexico," *Annals* 150 (July, 1930): 238-247.
- Anonymous, "Economía de los Estados. Chihuahua," *RevEcon* 5 (1942): 25-32.

- Anonymous, "Situación económica de Baja California, Territorio Norte," *Examen* 304 (March, 1951): 12-17. One of a series of studies, including in the same year Campeche, Colima, and Coahuila.
- Anonymous, "Situación económica de Coahuila," *Examen* 309 (Aug., 1951): 14-20.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Economic activity in the border region, whether on the Mexican or the United States side of the international boundary, revolves substantially around agricultural or pastoral pursuits. Much of the available literature respecting this particular segment of the economy appears in the chapters dealing with land use and history, where there are citations concerning the nature of the activity, the income derived, the mode of living, and the technology. Some of the literature relevant to non-agricultural economic pursuits, particularly with respect to labor, mining, and trade, appears in the chapters devoted to the Spanish-speaking population of the United States, immigration, geography and description, and diplomacy. Repetition here will be held to a minimum; the above chapters referred to should be consulted for a complete listing of the available sources. The emphasis in the present chapter will be on non-agricultural economic activity, but there will be occasional citations concerning the agricultural segment, particularly with respect to labor, since agricultural labor virtually controls other sections of the labor economy. References to the oil industry will be omitted, since its influence on the border as such has been tangential.

As is true concerning most subjects concerning the border region, there is no satisfactory work covering the total economy or any large segment of the economy for either the Mexican or the United States side. Mining, for example, is an important subsidiary industry in many of the border states, but there is no publication dealing with mining itself or with a particular aspect of mining throughout the region; available publications deal only with particular aspects of a particular situation or a specific enterprise. The most useful single publication is Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, *Basic Industries in Texas and Northern Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1950. 193 pp. Latin American Series IX), which consists of thirteen contributions by United States and Mexican nationals. The contributors are all highly competent specialists in their fields, the individual contributions are succinct, and the data are cogent. Among the industries discussed are steel, oil, chemical, coal, sugar and hydroelectric power. Irrigation, water resources, and financing, all

of which are important to the economic development of the region are also discussed. The emphasis in most of the papers is on Texas and the adjacent Mexican states; the only exception is the chapter on hydroelectric power, which includes a discussion of all the border states. Although the studies in *Basic Industries* are excellent, the rapidity with which the economic development of the region has progressed since 1949—when the contributions were written—makes many of the studies somewhat outdated. Furthermore, many aspects of the non-agricultural economy were eliminated by definition; the vast fields of services, of retail trade, of transportation, of non-ferrous and non-carbonaceous mining are mentioned only in passing, if at all.

Ferretting out information concerning the economic pattern of the regions included in the border is essentially a research job, for which the basic research tools are needed. The most convenient sources for raw data are, of course, the various official publications. For the American side the census publications, the statistical abstracts of the Department of Commerce, and the general reports concerning economic activity contain essential information in undigested form. For the Mexican side, the most convenient sources are the publications of the Secretaría de Economía Nacional and its various offices. After each census period a variety of publications dealing with the economic picture has been made available for public distribution; these include transfers of property analysed by states, values of goods and services given by states and by activities, and other such data. In addition, the *Anuario estadístico* contains data which are often arrived at by estimate, but which are useful for the establishment of trends and comparisons. Annual reports by various government agencies or quasi-independent corporations such as Pemex, Banco Nacional, and Nacional Financiera, as well as the voluminous reports made at the end of each presidential administration, furnish further information; one must be careful, however, to separate the propaganda and the promises from the statistical data in order to make a valid assessment of economic activity. The pertinent guides discussed in another chapter of the present work should be consulted for the specific titles desired.

Books and Monographs

United States

There are a number of readily available publications which analyse in convenient form certain aspects of the economy to the

north of the international boundary. All of the states in question have agencies of government intimately related to the economy of the area; the Texas A&M Engineering Experiment Station, the University of Texas Bureau of Business Research, the University of Texas Bureau of Economic Geology, the New Mexico Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, the Arizona Bureau of Mines, and the various extension services all regularly publish reports which impinge on economic development. Most of the agencies, furthermore, include economic data in the annual reports. The most useful of the special bulletins coming from the various agencies and institutes will be mentioned in the following discussion.

The Texas Geological Survey, *First Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Texas, 1889* (Austin: State Printing Company, 1890) was followed by other annual reports for 1890, 1891, and 1892. Together these reports constitute a rather thorough geological survey of the state, with considerable discussion of the economic aspects of the geological formations. Among the areas specifically discussed are the Trans-Pecos region and the Southwestern portion of the state. The University of Texas, Division of Conservation and Development of Natural Resources, *Mineral Resource Survey* (Austin: University of Texas Bureau of Economic Geology, 1936-1943) are a series of circulars concerning the location and exploitation of the minerals. Staff of the University of Texas, *The Resources of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas, 1944. 365 pp.) is a coherent and exhaustive inventory of the economic potential. Much of it is not applicable to the border, but the nature of the publication makes the separation of the border portions relatively easy. A report on a particular part of the natural resources is John Robert Stockton, Richard C. Henshaw and Richard W. Graves, *Economics of Natural Gas in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Bureau of Business Research, 1952, 316 pp. Research Monograph No. 15); it is mentioned here in view of the importance of natural gas in the border region as a source of fuel and power.

S. G. Reed's *A History of the Texas Railroads and of Transportation Conditions under Spain and Mexico and the Republic and State* (Houston: St. Clair Publishing Co., 1941. 822 pp.) is useful for railroad transportation and the importance of railroads in the economy of the state; it is unfortunate that there are no companion publications covering other modes of transportation, but water transportation is covered in part in Coleman McCampbell,

Saga of a Frontier Seaport (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1934. 184 pp.). It covers the growth of Corpus Christi, but the work has limitations as an economic study. Texas A&M College, *Progress Report to the Texas Farm Electrification Committee, 1948* (College Station: Texas A&M College, 1948) covers an adjunct of economic development, as does Jack W. Cashin, *History of Savings and Loan in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Bureau of Business Research, 1956. 171 pp. Research Monograph No. 17). As an aid to economic development through the assessment of regional economic potential, the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Texas has developed a standard method; Alfred G. Dale's *An Economic Survey Method for Small Areas* (Austin: University of Texas Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 47 pp.) should aid orderly economic development.

New Mexico mineral resources have been fairly well covered by the bulletins coming from the Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, but other aspects of the non-agricultural economic development have been generally disregarded. Kingsley Charles Dunham, *The Geology of the Organ Mountains, with an Account of the Geology and Mineral Resources of Dona Ana County, New Mexico* (Socorro, New Mexico: State Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, 1935. 272 pp. Bulletin No. 11) is a detailed exposition of capabilities in a heavily Spanish-speaking region. Other such publications:

- Bates, Robert Latimer (compiler), *The Oil and Gas Resources of New Mexico* (Socorro, New Mexico: State Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, 1942. 320 pp. Bulletin No. 18).
- Johnston, William Drumm, *Flourspar in New Mexico* (Socorro, New Mexico: State Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, 1928. 128 pp. Bulletin No. 4).
- Kurrelmeyer, Louis Hayner, *The Potash Industry: Analysis of Recent Developments in the Economics of the Potash Industry, with Particular Reference to Carlsbad, New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951. 83 pp.).
- Lasky, Samuel G., *The Ore Deposits of Socorro County, New Mexico* (Socorro, New Mexico: State Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, 1932. 139 pp. Bulletin No. 8).
- Lasky, Samuel G. and Thomas P. Wooton, *The Metal Resources of New Mexico and Their Economic Features* (Socorro, New Mexico: State Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, 1933. 178 pp. Bulletin No. 7).
- Talmadge, Sterling B. and Thomas P. Wooton, *The Non-Metallic Mineral Resources of New Mexico and Their Economic Features*

- (Socorro, New Mexico: Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, 1937. 159 pp. Bulletin No. 12).
- Winchester, Dean Eddy, *The Oil and Gas Resources of New Mexico* (Socorro, New Mexico: State Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, 1933. 233 pp. Bulletin No. 9).

In addition to the mineral resources studies mentioned above, the transportation industry in New Mexico is touched upon in William S. Greever, *Arid Domain* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1954. 184 pp.), which concerns the development of the Santa Fe Railroad and the use it made of its western land grant.

New Mexico's economy has been badly out of balance, according to a study sponsored by a committee concerned with economic development. E. L. Moulton, *New Mexico's Economy: An Economic and Employment Appraisal* (Albuquerque: Committee of Economic Development, 1945. 153 pp.) pointed out that the state depended too heavily upon agriculture, in spite of the good possibilities—in terms of labor, climate and resources—for the development of light industry. Since the publication of the report some changes have been made in the direction of a more diversified economy.

The publications concerning Arizona economy are roughly equivalent to those concerning New Mexico; the following are the most useful:

- Lausen, Carl and Eldred Dewey Wilson, *Gold and Copper Deposits near Payson, Arizona* (Tucson: Published by the University, 1925. 44 pp. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 120).
- Lausen, Carl and E. D. Gardner, *Quicksilver (Mercury) Resources of Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1927. 112 pp. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 122).
- Wilson, Eldred Dewey, *Geology and Ore Deposits of the Courtland-Gleeson Region* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1927. 79 pp. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 123).
- Tenney, James Brand, *The Mineral Industries of Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1928. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 125).
- Wilson, Eldred Dewey, *Geology and Mineral Deposits of Southern Yuma County, Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1933. 236 pp. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 134). Includes a selected list of publications on Yuma County.
- Gilluly, James, *Geology and Ore Deposits of the Ajo Quadrangle, Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1937. 83 pp. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 141).
- Butler, Bert S., E. D. Wilson and C. A. Rasor, *Geology and Ore De-*

posits of the Tombstone District, Arizona (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1938. 114 pp. Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 143).

The references mentioned above relative to the United States side certainly leave large gaps which need to be filled in. The processing industries are not mentioned, there is virtually nothing concerning the interdependence of the various components of the economic system, the transportation industry has been badly neglected, and in general the literature gives only a poor and incomplete picture of economic development and interplay.

Furthermore, it is a generally recognized phenomenon that most of the border cities depend heavily upon their companions across the international boundary for economic well-being; the 1954 flood on the Rio Grande, cutting communications between Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, and between Eagle Pass and Piedras Negras, rather clearly demonstrated this interdependence. And yet no study has been made of the nature, extent and importance of the connections in any pair of cities so situated. In addition, it is generally conceded that the Mexican border public, urban and rural, are heavy purchasers of United States-made consumer goods, most of which have been imported into Mexico duty free; it is often said that without such trade the United States wholesalers and retailers in the area would suffer serious losses. Conversely, it is assumed that the Mexican buying public depends upon the importation of goods produced on the opposite side of the boundary; certain it is that every attempt by the government in Mexico City to limit the free crossing of goods has met with bitter objections from the border area. But these are impressions only, not supported by any clear analysis of the economic factors involved. Another assumption, certainly supported by some of the statistical data available, is that the labor supply on the border is both cheap and abundant, and yet the one study which might shed light on the subject indicates that the nature of the labor supply has not been a factor in attracting industry to the region; Frederic Meyers, *Spanish-Name Persons in the Labor Force in the Manufacturing Industry in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951. 31 pp. Inter-American Education Occasional Papers VIII) certainly found evidence that the border counties had a supply of cheap labor, but not evidence that industry had moved to the region as a consequence. But the Meyers study is admittedly incomplete, and many of the questions raised need to be answered.

Mexico

Some of the older works dealing with Mexican economic factors should be consulted as a backdrop for the more recent developments. Max Winkler, *Investments of United States Capital in Latin America* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1928. 297 pp.) is a convenient source for various forms of investment in Mexico prior to the major expropriations and changes during and after the Cárdenas administration. Edgar Turlington's *Mexico and Her Foreign Creditors* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 449 pp.) analyses one of Mexico's major economic problems as it existed a generation ago, and Edwin Walton Kemmerer, *Inflation and Revolution: Mexico's Experience of 1912-1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. 173 pp.) discusses an economic problem which has not been limited to the period the author covers. Fred Wilbur Powell's *The Railroads of Mexico* (Boston: The Stratford Co., 1921. 226 pp.), is a thorough study of the railroad system immediately after the close of the major military phases of the Revolution; there is no more recent study of comparative quality. From the same period is P. Harvey Middleton, *Industrial Mexico: 1919 Facts and Figures* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1919. 270 pp.), a thorough analysis of economic and trade conditions closing on a note of optimism which has not been completely fulfilled by developments since.

More recent economic analyses dealing with the nation as a whole are not particularly penetrating and rarely make specific reference to the border area, but they should be used for general comparative purposes. The best for general coverage is Combined Mexican Working Party, *The Economic Development of Mexico* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953. 392 pp.), a somewhat dry and studiously correct examination of economic actualities and potentials. More highly interpretative but less factually broad is Tomme Clark Call's excellent *The Mexican Venture; from Political to Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. 273 pp.), which also includes specific reference to the border, particularly in the realm of trade. Jesús Silva Herzog, *Nueve estudios mexicanos* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1953. 315 pp.) has several chapters dealing specifically with economic problems. Sanford A. Mosk, *Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950. 331 pp.) concludes that the industrial expansion stimulated by World War II was carried out at the expense of other sectors of the economy, a

conclusion with which other analysts do not completely agree. A more general work is Manuel G. Parra, *La industrialización de México* (Mexico: Imp. Universitaria, 1954. 203 pp.).

There are a few studies dealing with specific aspects of the economy. Jenaro González Reina, *Minería y riqueza minera en México* (Mexico: Tall. de Gráfica Panamericana, 1944. 214 pp.) is a synthesis rather than an analysis of statistical data, including that which is relevant to the border mining regions. Ricardo Villarreal L., *Regiones económicas agrícolas de la República Mexicana* (Tacubaya, D. F.: Tall. de la Oficina de Publicaciones y Propaganda, 1936. 802 pp.), deals primarily with agricultural economy, but interlarded with these data are items relevant to non-agricultural economic development. Two very convenient directories, one a series, have been made available by the Mexican Chamber of Commerce. Julio Riquelme Inda's *Monografías geográficas sintéticas* (Mexico: Confederación de Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio, 1946. 424 pp.), is a listing of all towns over 2,000 population, according to the 1940 census, with a description of the economic conditions and resources of each. For each community listed there are data concerning trade, banking and financial facilities, communication and transportation facilities, local industries, and natural resources convenient to the urban center. The periodic *Directorio oficial* published by the Cámara Nacional de Comercio y Industria contains a classified list of all firms with a working capital of 5,000 pesos or more; the directory is a listing, not an analysis. Guadalupe Rivera Marín, *El mercado de trabajo: relaciones obrero-patronales* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1955. 314 pp.), is a part of the series *Estructura Económica y Social de México*, underwritten by Nacional Financiera; only a few of the projected studies have been completed to date, but when the series is complete it should constitute a valuable and badly needed reference set of Mexican economic problems. The volume under discussion concerns labor rights, organization, conflicts, strikes and stoppages discussed and analysed on a regional basis. The tables and charts are extremely valuable for both the general labor picture and for the border specifically; the data indicate different labor patterns between the border area and the remainder of the nation, an example of which is the smaller proportion of labor organization along the border. Unfortunately, Rivera Marín does not account for these differences in his analysis. Carl Hugh Beal, *Reconnaissance of the Geology and Oil Possibilities of Baja California, Mexico* (New York: Geological Society of

America, 1948. 138 pp.) indicates that the probabilities for major oil developments in the region are not too promising. Annual publications by the banks and other financial institutions in the border region give good data, but most of it is in an undigested form and is food for research rather than research findings.

Articles in Journals

United States

For background concerning economic development on both sides of the international boundary, the following articles may be cited:

- Sorrell, Vernon G., "Problems of Exchange between the United States and Mexico," in *Proceedings of the Eighth American Scientific Congress* (Washington: Department of State, 1943): 59-73. Rates of exchange have apparently had an influence on economic development in the region, but the nature and extent of that influence has not been made clear. The present article concerns the factors which have influenced the peso-dollar exchange rate; Sorrell concluded that the principal elements have been United States purchase of Mexican silver, tourist trade, Mexican expropriation of foreign-owned property, particularly oil, and foreign investment.
- Baker, Bernard N., "Closer Commercial Relations with Latin America," *Annals* 37 (September, 1911): 738-742. An older and rather general presentation of the growing trade between the United States and Latin America, with some attention to the Mexican trade.
- Cutter, Victor M., "Relations of United States Companies with Latin America," *Annals* 132 (July, 1927): 130-133. Some of the problems when United States companies are involved in either trade or investment. Much of the discussion, while not specifically concerning Mexico, is applicable.
- Kahler, Hugh McNair, "Current Misconceptions of Trade with Latin America," *Annals* 37 (September, 1911): 628-637. An attempt to present accurate information relative to trade conditions.
- Ring, Welding, "Transportation Facilities Needed for Latin American Trade," *Annals* 61 (July, 1915): 81-85.

Specifically on the economic development of the border region the journal literature, similar to that of monographic, has been limited. The following are the best:

- Rader, Frank K., "Industrialization in the Southwest: Texas." *SWSSQ* 10 (1929-1930): 313-337. This is a part of a series of short articles included in the page references above; others are on Arkansas (Truman C. Bigham), Louisiana (James B. Trant), and Oklahoma

(Charles N. Gould). The basic orientation of all the studies is the nature of industrial development and the problems involved in further growth; the Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana sections are good for comparison with the Texas material.

- Baugh, W. H. and W. D. Ross, "Changes in the Manufacturing Economy of the Southwest between 1939 and 1947," *SWSSQ* 31 (1950-1951): 81-92. This article relates to the same states covered in the previous citation, and should be used in conjunction with the earlier study for the establishment of trends and change.
- Cauley, T. J., "Early Meat-Packing Plants in Texas," *SWSSQ* (at that time published as the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*) 9 (1929-1930): 464-478. The history of the beginning of the industry.
- Foscue, Edwin J., "Industrialization of the Texas Gulf Coast Region," *SWSSQ* 31 (1950-1951): 1-18. A fairly good survey of the development of industry in the area, including the coastal bend region in the border area, and the factors which have influenced industrial growth and retardation.
- Lang, A. S., "Economic Diversification in the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 21 (1940-1941): 30-41. A discussion of some of the major problems confronting extensive industrialization in the area. In view of the mineral and other resources of the region, one could assume the probabilities of great industrial expansion, but Lang concludes that inadequate transportation facilities prevent major growth.
- Milam, Paul W., "Industrialization of the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 22 (1941-1942): 300-310.
- Paine, L. S., "Industrial Facilities in the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 27 (1946-1947): 331-344.
- Weaver, Findlay, "Recent Changes in the Texas Banking System," *SWSSQ* 8 (1927-1928): 75-87. The *SWSSQ* was then published under the title of *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*.

The conditions and the nature of labor supply have not been the subject of extensive literature, and the majority of that which has appeared has dealt with either migrant or agricultural labor. Useful for the labor picture, particularly for comparative purposes, are the following:

- Bailer, Lloyd H., "Organized Labor and Racial Minorities," *Annals* 274 (March, 1951): 101-107. Attitudes of organized labor toward minority groups, and the problems involved in labor organization when large ethnic minority groups are present.
- Bamford, Edwin T., "The Mexican Casual Problem in the Southwest," *JAS-SSR* 8 (1923-1924): 363-371. Pertaining particularly to the Mexican immigrant; indications that the immigrant was involved in and in part responsible for a rapid turn-over of labor in various fields.

- Coalson, George O., "Mexican Contract Labor in American Agriculture," *SWSSQ* 33 (1952-1953): 228-238. The influence of the *bracero* movement on the labor market.
- Cross, William T., "The Poor Migrant in California," *Social Forces* 15 (1936-1937): 423-427. Agencies developed to meet the problem of the "men on the move" of the 1930's.
- Lindsay, Ben, "Child Labor Legislation and Methods of Enforcement in the Western States," *Annals* 25 (September, 1909): 508-515.
- Mabee, Cora E., "Minimum Wages for Women in California," *JAS-SSR* 8 (1923-1924): 31-36. Experience under the minimum wage laws for women and minors between 1913 and 1923, with the general findings that labor conditions improved as a result.
- Meyers, Frederic, "Employment and Relative Earnings of Spanish-Name Persons in Texas Industries," *SEJ*, April, 1953: 494-507. An expansion of a portion of his study concerning Spanish-speaking persons in industry, with indications that the employment patterns with respect to Spanish-speaking tended to depress industrial wages generally.
- Reuss, Carl F., "Professional Migratory Farm Labor Households," *SSR* 24 (1939-1940): 337-344. A study of a small sample in the Yakima Valley, Washington, of professional in contradistinction to casual or occasional migratory labor. Among other findings were that the educational level of the heads of families was not particularly low and that the greater the distance travelled in search of labor the less the net income for family consumption even though the gross income per working day might be greater.
- Shapiro, Harold A., "The Pecan Shellers of San Antonio, Texas," *SWSSQ* 32 (1951-1952): 299-244. A follow-up of the Menefee report covering much the same ground, but also including a detailed study of the 1937-1938 strike, and the post-strike union activities. The strike was unsuccessful, which virtually killed the union.
- Spaulding, Charles B., "The Mexican Strike at El Monte, California," *SSR* 18 (1933-1934): 571-580. A strike of Spanish-speaking vegetable harvesters, which degenerated into rioting and vicious strike-breaking. Spaulding indicates that there was some justification for the charges by the vegetable growers that the strike had Communist overtones.

Mexico

Journal articles concerning various aspects of non-agricultural economy in the north Mexican states are:

- Antúñez Echegaray, Francisco, "Informe acerca de los recursos naturales del Territorio Norte de la Baja California y exposición de las condiciones de ésta," *BolMinPet* 14, No. 5 (May, 1943): 3-16;

- No. 6 (June, 1943): 3-13. Written before the great boom in the area changed the political status from Territory to State; a rather optimistic account of the mineral resources, including oil.
- Attolina, José, "El estado de Baja California en gráficas," *BolSocMexGeoEstad* 72 (July-December, 1951): 145. Statistical data on economic and other aspects of the new state.
- Carrillo Flores, Antonio, "La civilización industrial norte-americana: reflexiones de un mexicano," *TriEcon* 5 (1951): 403-414. An exposition of the fundamental lines of economic development in the United States compared with those in Mexico.
- Chamberlain, Eugene K., "Mexican Colonization versus American Interests in Lower California," *PHR* 20 (1951): 43-55. Mexican investments in the area, which replaced American investments in the period 1920-1950.
- Davis, W. M., "Lower California and its Natural Resources: A Review," *GeogRev* 11 (1921): 551-562.
- García y Alva, Federico, "Sonora y sus elementos naturales de riqueza; su estado actual," *BolSocMexGeoEstad* 5 época, 8 (1918): 151-203. A rather thorough inventory of the mineral resources.
- Irigoyen, Ulises, "Carretera transpeninsular de la Baja California," *BolSocMexGeoEstad* 58 (1943): 339-358. The economic significance of the transpeninsular highway, which connected the Pacific Coast to the capital and to the remainder of Mexico.
- Ives, Ronald L., "The Sonoran Railway Project," *JournGeog* 48 (1949): 197-206. A discussion of the projected line from Santa Ana, Sonora, to Mexicali, B. C., to connect the rich Colorado delta with the interior of Mexico rather than with the United States. The line, since completed, has had a material effect on the economic development of the region as well as giving to Mexico an important new source of food supply.
- Jellinek, Frank, "Textile Crisis Looming," *MAR* 14, No. 3 (March, 1946): 12-15, 72. A discussion of the need for modernizing the textile mills in all parts of Mexico in order to meet the competition from the United States in the post-war period.
- Just, Evan, "Mexico is Strangling its Mining Industry," *E&MJ* 147, No. 4 (June, 1946): 76-80. The principal theme is to the effect that the heavy demands from labor for high wages and fringe benefits, the general labor code with its many restrictions and mandates, the heavy taxes which often amount to as much as half of the total cost of operation, all tend to destroy mining development. This is a good statement of the position taken by mining interests, and the findings are not free from bias; there is, unfortunately, no short companion piece giving the government economists' views.
- Kellum, Lewis B., "Geologic History of Northern Mexico and Its Bearing on Petroleum Exploration," *BullAAPG* 28 (1944): 310-325. Technical suggestions relative to the probabilities of oil and gas

- in northeastern Mexico and methods of discovering the geologic formations likely to produce petroleum.
- Lemert, Ben F. and Rose V. Lemert, "Mexico: The Iron and Steel Industry," *JournGeog* 35 (1936): 199-203. The Nuevo León industry, principally in Monterrey, and the use the industry made of ores from Durango and gas from Texas. This article was written prior to the establishment of the Altos Hornos steel mills in Monclova, and prior to the discovery of gas in northeastern Mexico.
- Maitland, John, "Open New Highway," *MAR* 18, No. 6 (June, 1950): 14-17. Economic stimulation from the opening of a new highway in northwestern Mexico in the border region.
- Mosk, Sanford A., "Capitalistic Development in Lower California Pearl Fisheries," *PHR* 10 (1941): 461-468. Conditions underlying the development of the pearl fisheries.
- Oliván Palacio, F., "Estudio minero sobre el Estado de Coahuila," *RevMinPet* 16, No. 197 (February-March, 1950): 42-47.
- Peña, Moisés T. de la, "Chihuahua económico; recomendaciones," *InvEcon* 8 (1948): 73-107. Recommendations, resulting from a general study of economic conditions, relative to the development of Chihuahua economy.
- Peña, Moisés T. de la, "La minería en la economía nacional," *RevEcon* 7, No. 1-2 (February, 1944): 27-38. A short study of the declining position occupied by Mexican mining in the total Mexican economy.
- Pletcher, David M., "The Development of Railroads in Sonora," *I-AEcon* 1, No. 4 (March, 1948): 3-44. Problems involved in the development of the lines, which were not particularly profitable.
- Romualdi, Serafino, "Hands Across the Border," *AmFed* 61, No. 6 (June, 1954): 19. The braceros and union labor; Romualdi insists that the braceros should have the right to organize.
- Saavedra, Mario M., "La minería y sus problemas actuales," *InvEcon* 9 (1949): 180-207. Principal problems, including labor costs and declining ores, faced by the mining districts, including those in the border areas.
- Simpich, Frederick, "Baja California Wakes Up," *NatGeog* 82 (1942): 253-275. Economic activities in Baja California, in an area where Simpich was once the American Consul.
- Stewart, M. S., "Our Mexican Colony," *Nation* 141 (1935): 323-324. The effects of foreign capital on the principal industries of Mexico, particularly mining and railroads, with the dubious conclusion that the net effect had been the lowering of standards of living for the nationals.
- Thibert, Marguerite, "Pequeños comerciantes y pequeños trabajadores callejeros," *RevTPS* 14 (1942): 23-48. The result of a study of 27,000 cases coming before Previsión Social; juvenile delinquency correlated with migrant labor, and both migration and delinquency

- No. 6 (June, 1943): 3-13. Written before the great boom in the area changed the political status from Territory to State; a rather optimistic account of the mineral resources, including oil.
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- Jellinek, Frank, "Textile Crisis Looming," *MAR* 14, No. 3 (March, 1946): 12-15, 72. A discussion of the need for modernizing the textile mills in all parts of Mexico in order to meet the competition from the United States in the post-war period.
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- Mosk, Sanford A., "Capitalistic Development in Lower California Pearl Fisheries," *PHR* 10 (1941): 461-468. Conditions underlying the development of the pearl fisheries.
- Oliván Palacio, F., "Estudio minero sobre el Estado de Coahuila," *RevMinPet* 16, No. 197 (February-March, 1950): 42-47.
- Peña, Moisés T. de la, "Chihuahua económico; recomendaciones," *InvEcon* 8 (1948): 73-107. Recommendations, resulting from a general study of economic conditions, relative to the development of Chihuahua economy.
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- Romualdi, Serafino, "Hands Across the Border," *AmFed* 61, No. 6 (June, 1954): 19. The braceros and union labor; Romualdi insists that the braceros should have the right to organize.
- Saavedra, Mario M., "La minería y sus problemas actuales," *InvEcon* 9 (1949): 180-207. Principal problems, including labor costs and declining ores, faced by the mining districts, including those in the border areas.
- Simpich, Frederick, "Baja California Wakes Up," *NatGeog* 82 (1942): 253-275. Economic activities in Baja California, in an area where Simpich was once the American Consul.
- Stewart, M. S., "Our Mexican Colony," *Nation* 141 (1935): 323-324. The effects of foreign capital on the principal industries of Mexico, particularly mining and railroads, with the dubious conclusion that the net effect had been the lowering of standards of living for the nationals.
- Thibert, Marguerite, "Pequeños comerciantes y pequeños trabajadores callejeros," *RevTPS* 14 (1942): 23-48. The result of a study of 27,000 cases coming before Previsión Social; juvenile delinquency correlated with migrant labor, and both migration and delinquency

correlated to improper enforcement of the laws with respect to wages, hours, and industrial accidents to minors.

Valentine, Wilbur G., "Geology of the Cananea Mountains, Sonora, Mexico," *BullGSA* 47 (1936): 53-86. Geology of the principal copper producing region in Mexico; a geologic map is included.

Vincent, Melvin J., "The Proposed Mexican Labor Code," *SSR* 14 (1929-1930): 233-237. A short discussion of the labor code then being discussed in the Mexican Congress, and passed shortly after the appearance of the article.

CHAPTER X

ASPECTS OF CULTURE:

GENERAL VALUES, RELIGION, FOLK, MEDICAL

Whether the border area on either side of the international boundary has developed a unique culture pattern distinct from the basic Anglo-American or the Mexican patterns, or a culture which is a fusion of the two, has not been ascertained. Certainly there are many indications of a difference from the basic pattern, particularly on the United States side, and certainly many of the references in the preceding chapters have been directed toward a clarification of some of these differences. It is quite clear that the Spanish-speaking value systems and dominant themes are somewhat distinct from those of the Anglo-American, and that there has been some degree of cultural fusion. There are sufficient indications in the literature that the Spanish-speaking in the United States have accepted significantly different values from their cultural kin on the other side of the international boundary; there are indications, but less satisfactory evidence, that the Anglo-Americans in the region diverge from the mainstream of their cultural heritage from the English-speaking. On the other hand, throughout Mexico the *norteño* is recognized—by dress, manner of speech, sometimes by general physical appearance—as a distinct type; in Central Mexico the stereotype of the *norteño* is not greatly different from the American stereotype of the Westerner. A study of certain demographic aspects indicates that there are important deviations between the basic Mexican patterns and those of the border states; for example, a markedly higher proportion of civil marriages only, as opposed to civil-religious marriages, is a characteristic of the region, as is a significant difference in the age structure of the society. Furthermore, as has already been pointed out, there are differences in labor-management relations and in land-use patterns; there seem, also, to be some differences in the nature of the social systems. But whether these differences are sufficiently distinct or sufficiently common to the region to be classified as a sub-culture has not been ascertained through any objective analysis of empirical data.

*Books and Monographs***General**

Any consideration of the literature dealing with cultural patterns in the region would be incomplete without reference to two major works which have been cited in another context. Nathan C. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. 671 pp.), and Frank Wilson Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions in the Southwest* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891. 353 pp. Other editions at later dates), contain a great deal of valuable data and analysis, even though Whetten is not directly concerned with the border area. One of the most interesting analyses of Mexican cultural patterns is the sharp and biting essay series by Samuel Ramos, *El perfil del hombre y la cultura en México* (Mexico: Imp. Mundial, 1934. 179 pp.), which is somewhat psychoanalytical in concept and content. One chapter, in particular, is devoted to psychonanalysis of the Mexican, in which Ramos puts great emphasis on an innate inferiority complex as the dominant factor in creating Mexican character. Whether Ramos is correct in his analysis of Mexican culture is, at the moment, a moot point; his essays give food for thought and many of his concepts could be subject to scientific investigation.

A more recent attempt to analyse general cultural patterns in Mexico is José de Iturriaga, *Estructura social y cultural de México* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951. 254 pp.), the second in the series on the *Estructura económica y social de México*. One might quarrel with some of Iturriaga's conclusions—for example, that the decline in paternal influence in the family is evidence of the deterioration and degeneration of the family itself—but his data are good and his coverage rather thorough. Manuel Gamio's *Hacia un México nuevo: problemas sociales* (Mexico: 1935. 231 pp.) discusses a variety of systems and patterns with which applied social scientists would have to be aware in order to institute the changes desired by the revolutionary planners; the tenor of the work is both pessimistic relative to the magnitude of the problem and optimistic concerning the ultimate outcome. A particular aspect of a small segment of Mexican society, the pack-mule drivers, is discussed in Víctor Ruiz Meza's short but excellent *Los arrieros* (Mexico: Ed. Vargas Rea, 1946. 36 pp.). Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *No Frontier to Learning; The Mexican Student in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. 148 pp.) concerns the Mexican student in United States

institutions of higher learning, but two parts of the study are important for the present topic. Humphrey investigated certain aspects of the culture pattern from which the Mexican student came, and attempted to determine the experiences of the student after his return to Mexico; Humphrey's untimely illness and death prevented the satisfactory completion of this phase of the work. Beals in a more general sense presents some of the dominant themes of Mexican culture, against which he portrays the experiences of the students. Charles M. Flandrau, *Viva Mexico* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1908. 293 pp.) should not be overlooked in spite of its original date of publication.

A large number of community studies in Mexico have been undertaken in the past forty years, and many of them include important data concerning the cultural patterns; only a very few deal with the border area, and all of those have been cited in other sections. Reference should be made to the monographs and books by Basil M. Bensin, Samuel N. Dicken, L. Hewes, Timoteo L. Hernández, Protasio P. Cadena, Carlos Pérez-Maldonado, Miguel Guadiana Ibarra, and Ismael Cavazos Garza, which are described in various chapters of this guide. Of the community studies not mentioned previously, probably the most useful for present purposes are Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951. 512 pp.) and Donald Brand, *Quiroga: A Mexican Municipio* (Washington: G.P.O., 1951. 242 pp.), even though only small parts of either are applicable to the question of border culture patterns. A complete listing and some description of the community studies may be found in Howard F. Cline, "Mexican Community Studies," *HAHR* 32 (1952): 212-242. Carlos Pérez-Maldonado, *El Casino de Monterrey: Bosquejo histórico de la sociedad regiomontaña* (Monterrey: Impresora Monterrey, 1950. 252 pp.) analyses the cultural function of the exclusive Monterrey club, while Josephina Niggli, *Mexican Village* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 491 pp.) uses ten short fictional accounts for an examination of some of the characteristic values and attitudes in a small town near the border; it is sensitively and perceptively done.

Religion

One aspect of *norteño* culture which has received virtually no attention has been the religious pattern. One of the basic characteristics of the modern Mexican Revolution has been its vehement, and often violent, anti-clericalism; these anti-clerical concepts have

been consolidated in the Constitution of 1917 and in both state and federal law stemming from the Constitution itself. Anti-clericalism, it must be said, was not quite unique to the twentieth century revolution; the major part of the nineteenth century was characterized by the same phenomenon and the most bitter and bloody internecine wars in nineteenth century Mexico revolved around the issue of the Church in Mexican national life. Nor has anti-clericalism been monopolized by Mexico; every country of Latin America at one time or another since independence has been confronted with the problem, and most of the countries impose serious restrictions on the political and economic activities of the Church. In view of these facts one could hardly assume that anti-clericalism in Mexico has been solely a border product, and yet there are many indications that the particular strain of anti-clericalism which has become characteristic of contemporary Mexico received its greatest elaboration by the northern revolutionaries. The extent to which this is the case, unfortunately, has not been the subject of any study to date available in published form. Virtually all general histories of recent Mexico touch on the subject of Church-State relations, and there have been a number of biased accounts relative to the question; Graham Greene's *The Lawless Roads* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 3rd ed., 1950. 289 pp.) is an excellent example of the pro-clerical bias. A lengthy collection of documents which will help shed light on the present question is Leopoldo Lara y Torres, *Documentos para la historia de la persecución religiosa en México* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1954. 1104 pp.).

Other books and pamphlets relative to religious culture in the border regions are:

- La Barre, Weston, *The Peyote Cult* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938. 188 pp.). Concerns the peyote button as a giver of visions, and its use among the Plains Indians. There is a comparison of some of the central plateau preconquest religious practices and the twentieth century border rites among some of the Indian groups.
- Kubler, George, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and since the American Occupation* (Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum, 1940. 232 pp.).
- McLean, Robert Norris, *The Northern Mexican* (New York: Home Missions Council, 1930. 43 pp.). One of a series of surveys taken by the Home Missions Council.
- Meigs, Peveril III, *The Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. 231 pp.).

Stowell, Jay S., *The Near Side of the Mexican Question* (New York: Doran, 1921. 123 pp.). Stowell was a Protestant Missionary.

Folklore

A consideration of culture patterns should not overlook the potentialities of folklore as indicative of customs and values. While there are many works dealing with the folklore of the area, only one serious attempt has been made to analyze the lore as a social phenomenon. Cleve Hallenbeck and Juanita H. Williams, *Legends of the Spanish Southwest* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938. 342 pp.) see in the current legends of heroism pertaining to the Spanish conquest and settlement of the region a mechanism for strengthening and maintaining the social vitality of the people; one might quarrel with this psychoanalysis of folklore. An even more delightful and exciting work, however, comes from the pen of Américo Paredes, a professor of English who as a child heard his father and uncles tell of the border raids in which they had participated. His *"With His Pistol in His Hand"* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958. 262 pp.) concerns the story of a Texas border Spanish-speaking badman-hero, the subject of a *corrido*. Paredes gives the *corrido*, and its various versions, in Spanish and with its English translation; he examines the *corrido* as a literary form as well as a social expression; and he gives the facts of the case as well as the myth as it is expressed in the *corrido*. But the author is not content to examine the *corrido* only; he discusses the social milieu in which the legend was created, and as such he gives a magnificent picture of conflicting cultural values and forms. Many border Anglos will object to some of Paredes' passages, particularly those about the Rangers; his strictures relative to that law-enforcing body are scorching—and somewhat overstated. But Paredes has produced a first-class book which anyone interested in the border could read with pleasure as well as profit.

The majority of the folklore writings, however, merely tell the tales without attempting to account for or to analyse the cultural importance of the items. Among the best of the folklore items (and to which the last statement does not universally apply) are:

Alvarez del Villar, José, *Historia de la charrería* (Mexico: Imp. "Londres," 1942. 390 pp.). Studies of the Mexican *charro*, particularly his folklore.

Boatright, Mody C., Wilson M. Hudson and Allen Maxwell (eds.), *Texas Folk and Folklore* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University

- Press, 1954. 356 pp.). A publication of the Texas Folklore Society.
- Botkin, B. A. (ed.), *A Treasury of Western Folklore* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1951. 806 pp.). This work has some of the characteristics of a literary anthology, since it includes many items which are not strictly folklore in the original sense.
- Dobie, J. Frank, *Tongues of the Monte* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1935. 301 pp.). Tales and beliefs of cattlemen and herdsmen in Coahuila, Nuevo León and northern Zacatecas. A thoroughly delightful collection, gathered and put into form by an outstanding literary figure with a gift for story-telling as well as understanding.
- Dobie, J. Frank, *The Mexico I Like* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1942. 301 pp.). A republication of the above.
- Dobie, J. Frank (ed.), *Puro Mexicano* (Austin: Texas Folklore Society, 1935. 261 pp.). An anthology of Mexican folk tales, from various parts of Mexico but primarily the border region. Among other items are a group of *corridos* gathered by Paul Schuster Taylor from Mexican migrants, the songs relating to the hardships of migration.
- Durán, Gustavo, *14 Traditional Spanish Songs from Texas* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1942. 20 pp.). Transcriptions of songs made on tape by Alan Lomax and John Ruby.
- Espinosa, José Manuel, *Spanish Folk-Tales from New Mexico* (New York: The American Folklore Society, G. E. Stechert, Agents, 1937. 222 pp.).
- Goodwyn, Frank, *The Magic of Limping John* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1944. 275 pp.). Tales of the ranching country near the Lower Rio Grande Valley, circulating among the Spanish-speaking and told with charm.
- Lucero-White, Aurora (ed.), *The Folklore of New Mexico* (Santa Fe: Printed at the Seton Village Press, 1941).
- Prieto Quimper, Salvador, *El Parral de mis recuerdos: Datos para la biografía de una noble ciudad de provincia* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1948. 304 pp.). Some good folklore intermixed with other items.
- Otero, Nina, *Old Spain in our Southwest* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936. 192 pp.). Some folklore and folksong materials.
- Rael, Juan B., *The New Mexican Alabado* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951. 154 pp.). Religious folk songs of New Mexico, many of them with the accompanying musical score.
- Romero Flores, Jesus (ed.), *Anales históricos de la Revolución Mexicana: Sus Corridos* (Mexico: Ed. "El Nacional," 1940. 230 pp.). The folk songs springing from the Revolution are still widely sung throughout Mexico, and many of them have crossed the boundary into the United States. The true Revolutionary *corrido* is authentic folklore, based upon an event but greatly embellished; this collection is the best such collection available.

Vázquez Santa Ana, Higinio, *La charrería mexicana* (Mexico: 1950. 130 pp.). The life and the folklore of the Mexican *charro*, given in some detail by a well-known folklorist.

Vázquez Santa Ana, Higinio, *Fiestas y costumbres mexicanas* (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1940. 381 pp.). A convenient collection of folk customs, arranged by states, this work is sometimes very perceptive and at other times very poor. The greatest disadvantage to the work is that there are a sufficiently large number of mistakes to undermine confidence in the accuracy of the total material.

Health and Sanitation

Medical, sanitary, and general health conditions along the border have received insufficient attention in publications for the non-medical man, and consequently it is difficult for the layman to obtain a clear picture of the conditions or trends. In the literature available, however, it is clear that the sociological and anthropological aspects of medicine have been virtually neglected. The tendency has been to consider the technical aspects of medical practice, or the administrative aspects of public health agencies, rather than the social acceptance or rejection of sanitary or health provisions. In a discussion of health problems along the border, for example, the Director of the Tuberculosis Division of the Texas State Department of Health put great emphasis on "racial immunity" to the disease but he had nothing to say concerning social attitudes in connection with the campaign for treatment or prevention. Only in recent years has the sociology of medicine received particular attention in this country, and as a consequence the cultural aspects of medical practices along the border region are still somewhat obscure. To be sure, Lyle Saunders' excellent work on the subject, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954. 317 pp.), has clarified many points, but one could wish for many more works of the same nature.

Within the past fifteen years the public health authorities of both Mexico and the United States have recognized that the international boundary and the general border situation have created a health problem of major proportions. As the mayor of Ciudad Juárez pointed out on one occasion, the stream of United States citizens into the border cities every day made it incumbent on both Mexican and United States authorities to cooperate for the prevention of disease spread; Mayor Bermúdez was especially concerned at the moment, during World War II, because of the

thousands of soldiers who sought recreation in Ciudad Juárez. Stimulated by the particular conditions of the moment, a United States-Mexico Border Health Association was formed in 1943, and since that date annual conferences have been held at various border cities. In the early years one of the major problems was the control of venereal disease, and most of the efforts of the Association were bent in that direction. With the end of the war, however, and the consequent disappearance of the great concentrations of troop training centers, more attention could be devoted to other aspects of health and sanitation, and in recent years a wide variety of problems has been considered. The 1950 conference, for example, devoted only one paper to venereal disease, while malaria control, nurse training, rabies control and vaccine, fly control, cockroach control, mental health, and a host of other subjects received greater attention. The Association publishes, in either photo-offset or mimeographed form, the proceedings of each of the conferences; the proceedings include summaries of all papers given as well as the major portion of the discussions, thus making available a good source of health and medical literature with respect to the border region. Unfortunately, the individual volumes are not indexed, nor has there been a published index of the series to date; this fact makes proper use of the materials somewhat difficult, but the publications should not be overlooked.

In addition to the annual reports mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the annual or biennial reports of the state public health departments should be consulted for information concerning sanitation and health conditions. Furthermore, the Leo Potishman Foundation of Texas Christian University has aided some studies, particularly in the field of mental health; the two most valuable are Austin L. Porterfield and Robert H. Talbot, *Crime, Suicide and Social Wellbeing in Your City and State* (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, Texas Christian University, 1948. 121 pp.) and Austin L. Porterfield and C. Stanley Clifton, *Youth in Trouble: Studies in Delinquency and Despair* (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, Texas Christian University, 1946. 132 pp.). A short general account of value is Michel Pijoan, *Certain Factors Involved in the Struggle Against Malnutrition and Disease, with Special Reference to the Southwest of the United States and Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943. 13 pp.).

Of the works cited in connection with the Spanish-speaking

people, three concerning the question of health and nutrition should be repeated here. Jet C. Winters, *A Report on the Health and Nutrition of Mexicans Living in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas, 1931. 99 pp. University of Texas Bulletin No. 3127) touches on a problem which transcends the Spanish-speaking; the deficient diet of the study group has an effect on the general social and economic development of the region. I. J. Bush's *Gringo Doctor* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Press, 1939. 261 pp.) is primarily concerned with the day-to-day problem of a medical man practicing on both sides of the international boundary, but in passing he mentions some of the social problems connected with medical practice. Marcus Goldstein, *Infants of Mexican Descent; The Physical Status of Neonates* (Bethesda, Maryland: United States Public Health Service, 1948) is concerned with a scientific determination of physical characteristics.

Health and welfare administration has received some—but insufficient—attention. Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences, University of Texas, *Texas' Children: The Report of the Texas Child Welfare Survey* (Austin: Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences, 1938. 885 pp.), is a voluminous report containing data on all aspects of child welfare, while Thomas Claude Donnelly, *Public Health Administration in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1938. 67 pp.) is primarily concerned with the administrative side of the health problem. Fred K. Hoehler's little mimeographed report, *Public Welfare Survey of San Antonio, Texas* (Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1940. 4 pp.) is useful, and Maximiano Martínez, *Las plantas medicinales de México* (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 2^a ed., 1939. 628 pp.) contains information concerning the foundations of folk medicine in Mexico.

Somewhat dated, but still useful, are a large number of reports concerning health conditions in various Mexican districts in the border area. They are:

- Aldama y Hermosillo, Arturo, *Banamichi, Son. Un bosquejo médico-social* (Mexico: 1940. 49 pp.).
Bernal Navarro, Ricardo, *Exploración sanitaria del campo número siete, ejido Cuauhtemoc, municipio de Cajeme, Edo. de Sonora* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1941. 32 pp.).
Bolaños Hernández, Rogelio, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria del municipio de Banamichi, Sonora* (Mexico: Imprenta "G." 1942. 40 pp.).

- Calcanéo, José Alfonso, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria del ejido de Bacobampo, Río Mayo, Edo. de Sonora* (Mexico: Mimeographed, 1939. 27 pp.).
- Campos Robledo, Pablo, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria del pueblo de Maguarichic, Chih.* (Mexico: 1938. 35 pp.).
- Castillo Mirazo, Moisés, *Exploración sanitaria de la congregación de Bacobampo, Río Mayo, municipio de Etchojoa, Sonora* (Mexico: 1941. 35 pp.).
- Espinosa Magaña, Francisco, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria del poblado ejidal de Quetchehueca en el Valle de Yaqui, Sonora* (Mexico: Tip. Virginia, 1942. 41 pp.).
- Fernández del Campo Colorado, José, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria del municipio de Banamichi, Edo. de Sonora* (Mexico: Mimeographed, 1939. 27 pp.).
- Hernández Guzmán, Ezequiel, *Informe sanitaria sobre el municipio de Temosachic, Chihuahua* (Mexico: Imprenta Azteca, 1941. 49 pp.).
- Lardizábal Campero, Luis, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria del poblado de Yepomera, municipio de Guerrero, Edo. de Chihuahua* (Mexico: 1941. 43 pp.).
- Marmolejo R., Leandro, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria de Vicam, Río Yaqui, Edo. de Sonora* (Mexico: 1938. 45 pp.).
- Mendieta Cruz, Francisco, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria de Satevó, Distrito Benito Juárez, Edo. de Chihuahua* (Mexico: Imp. Zavala, 1941. 41 pp.).
- Morán Sánchez, Norberto, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria del poblado ejidal de Quechehueca, en el Valle del Yaqui, Sonora* (Mexico: 1941. 39 pp.).
- Pérez y González Aragón, Angel Armando, *Informe general sobre el servicio médico social y exploración sanitaria del campo 65, perteneciente al municipio de Bacum, Edo. de Sonora* (Mexico: Imp. de J. Aguirre B., 1940. 64 pp.).
- Pérez Pliego, Carlos, *Exploración sanitaria de la región del Mayo, Sonora* (Mexico: 1938. 62 pp.).
- Ruiz Carvalho, Enrique, *Informe general de exploración sanitaria del pueblo Yaqui, municipio del Cuidad Obregón, Edo. de Sonora* (Mexico: Imp. Universal, 1941. 60 pp.).
- Ruiz Pabón, Rafael, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria del municipio de Bacerac, Distrito de Cumpas, Edo. de Sonora* (Mexico: Imp. Aztecas, 1941. 50 pp.).
- Suárez Bacallao, Raymundo, *Informe sanitario del internado indígena de Sisoguichic del Edo. de Chihuahua* (Mexico: 1938. 32 pp.).
- Villegas, Oscar Edgar, *Informe general sobre la exploración sanitaria de Vicam, Río Yaqui, Sonora y algunas costumbres de los indios Yaquis* (Mexico: 1937. 38 pp.).

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

A number of theses impinge on the question of culture and culture change. Among the most useful are:

- Butts, Onna B. M., *History of Los Pastores of Las Cruces, New Mexico* (M.A. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1936).
- Crasilneck, Harold B., *A Study of One Hundred Male Latin-American Juvenile Delinquents in San Antonio, Texas* (M.S. Thesis, University of Texas, 1948).
- D'Antonio, William V., *National Images of Business and Political Elite in Two Border Cities* (Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1958).
- Edmonson, Munro S., *Los Manitos: Patterns of Humor in Relation to Cultural Values* (Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1952).
- Elliot, Robert S., *The Health and Relief Problems of a Group of Non-Family Mexican Men in Imperial Valley, California* (M.A. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1939).
- Fain, Tyrus, *Social Systems and Social Change* (M.S. Thesis, University of Texas, 1957).
- Goldkind, Victor, *A Comparison of Folk Health Beliefs and Practices Between Ladino Women of Denver, Colorado, and Saginaw, Michigan* (M.A. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1959).
- Nall, Frank C., *Role-Expectation Patterns Among United States and Mexican High School Students: An Empirical Study of Some Applicabilities of the Social System Scheme* (Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1959).
- O'Dea, Thomas F., *Mormon Values: The Significance of a Religious Outlook for Social Action* (Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1953).
- Redekop, Calvin, *The Sectarian Black and White World* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1959).
- Rivera, Julius, *Contacts and Attitudes Toward the United States in a Mexican Border Community* (Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1957).

*Articles in Journals***United States**

A convenient place to start the study of cultural patterns, perhaps, is a determination of ethnic and cultural relations in a bi-cultural situation. Bruno Lasker, "Intercultural Relations in the United States," *SSR* 24 (1939-1940): 231-239, is a general coverage of the subject, with some ideas applicable to the border situation. Another short study dealing with migration as a factor in culture

change is Eugene S. Richards, "Culture Change Due to Migration: A Study of Negro Migration to California," *SSR* 26 (1941-1942): 334-345, which discusses changing social attitudes coincident with a move from the South to California; it includes some data on Negro-Spanish-speaking contact, but its major value is in the presentation of data useful for comparative purposes. A more specific reference to migration is made by William H. Form and Julius Rivera, "The Place of Returning Migrants in a Stratification System," *Rural Sociology* 23 (September, 1958): 286-297. Professor Form has been the senior author of two other articles dealing with border bi-cultural aspects: William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Comparative Study of Social Relations and Institutional Perspective," *ASR* 24 (December, 1959): 804-814, and William H. Form and Julius Rivera, "Work Contacts and International Evaluations: The Case of a Mexican Border Village," *Social Forces* 37 (May, 1959): 334-339. Additional articles dealing with specific communities are:

Hanson, Robert C., and Associates, "Predicting a Community Decision: A Test of the Miller-Form Theory," *ASR* 24 (October, 1959): 662-671.

Klapp, Orrin E., and L. Vincent Padgett, "Power Structure and Decision-Making in a Mexican Border City," *AJS* 65 (January, 1960): 400-406.

Loomis, Charles P., "El Cerrito, New Mexico: A Changing Village," *NMHR* 33 (January, 1958): 53-75.

Loomis, Charles P., "Systematic Linkage of El Cerrito," *Rural Sociology* 24 (March, 1959): 54-57.

An interesting short article on one aspect of cultural development is Mapheus Smith, "Regional Distribution of Eminent Americans with Especial Reference to the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 16, No. 1 (1935-1936): 48-57. Through a comparison of the relative number of eminent persons dwelling in the Southwest with those of other regions, the author found that the Southwest as a region ranked next to the bottom of the nine regions, and that Texas ranked 47th in the 48 states. The article is not important so much for its findings as it is for the definition of what constitutes eminence; the definition was one which largely is inapplicable to the values systems of the region, even though it might be applicable to the remainder of the country. The tenor and the findings of the article seem to suggest that the region of the Southwest, including

the border, is a cultural unit distinct from the remainder of the United States.

Additional articles dealing with general cultural patterns and values are:

Adair, John, and Evon Vogt, "Navaho and Zuni Veterans: A Study in Contrasting Modes of Cultural Change," *AA* 51 (1949): 547-561. An examination of the adjustment and adaptability patterns of the two groups, and an indication that the Navaho was much more able to adapt himself to the demands of the war and the post-war situation than was the Zuni.

Bourke, John G., "Notes on the Language and Folk Usage of the Rio Grande Valley (with Special Regard to Survivals of Arabic Customs)," *JAF* 9 (1896): 81-116.

Hewett, Edgar L., "The Aborigines of Southern California," *SSR* 18 (1933-1934): 358-364. Hewett examines the strength of the cultural and physical endowments of the Indians in the area, and concludes that the weakness of the cultural pattern was such that the society was not able to withstand the impact of white civilization and the Indian civilization consequently declined to a point of no return.

Hawley, Florence, "Role of Pueblo Social Organization in the Dissemination of Catholicism," *AA* 48 (1946): 407-415. In examining the history of the Indian groups in the Pueblo area, Hawley found that the Hopis successfully resisted the encroachment of the European religion. The Rio Grande Valley villages, on the other hand, became and remained Catholic, and the author suggests that the difference in social organization accounts for the difference in receptivity.

Santiago, Hazel D., "Mexican Influence in Southern California," *SSR* 16 (1931-1932): 68-74. A not-too-profound discussion of influences on the material culture, particularly architecture.

Senter, Donovan, "Acculturation Among New Mexican Villages in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of Other Spanish-Speaking Americans," *Rural Sociology* 19 (1945): 31-47. Senter postulates three possible methods of adjustment to a new cultural impact: a severe maintenance of the traditional culture patterns, a relatively quick acceptance of the new culture, or the development of a third culture pattern unlike either of the parent cultures. Senter points out that the Spanish-speaking have tried all three methods, but that the New Mexican village has tended to limit itself to either of the first two.

Spicer, Edward H., "Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation," *AA* 45 (1943): 410-426. A discussion of the linguistic process in an acculturated group, and the use of linguistic evidence to understand the acculturation phenomenon.

- Vogt, Evon Z., "A Study of the Southwestern Fiesta System as Exemplified by the Laguna Fiesta," *AA* 57 (1955): 820-839. A variety of Indian groups, the Spanish-speaking, and the Anglos all attend the fiesta, and each group has a distinct image of its function.
- Vogt, Evon Z. and Thomas F. O'Dea, "A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two Southwestern Communities," *ASR* 18 (1953): 645-654.
- Warner, Louis H., "Conveyance of Property, The Spanish and Mexican Way," *NMHR* 6 (1931): 334-359. A discussion of one of the problems of the area, in which the Spanish-Mexican legal system created difficulties for the application of Anglo-American principles.
- Watson, Walter T., "Some Sociological Problems of the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 12 (1931-1932): 210-220. A short discussion of areas of needed sociological investigation; much of what Watson had to say over twenty-five years ago is still applicable.
- Watson, James B. and Julian Samora, "Subordinate Leadership in a Bicultural Community: An Analysis," *ASR* 19 (1954): 413-421. A discussion of the problem of leadership, or lack of leadership, in the subordinate Spanish-speaking group in a community rather evenly divided between the Spanish-speaking and the Anglos.

A few articles on the religious situation in the border area are available, but generally speaking there has not been sufficient work done in this field. Walter R. Goldschmidt, "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches," *AJS* 49 (1943-1944): 348-355, reports on an investigation in the San Joaquin Valley with respect to social class and denominational affiliation. His findings are not significantly different from those by others investigating the correlation between church affiliation and social and economic class, but some of his data are of value for application to the entire border area. G. Bromley Oxnam, "The Mexican in Los Angeles from the Standpoint of the Religious Forces of the City," *Annals* 43 (September, 1912): 130-133, is a comment on the religious situation long before the major influx of new Mexican immigrants, and Riley Herman Pittman, "Building an Interracial Church," *SSR* 29 (1944-1945): 297-303, concerns a Los Angeles church which encourages membership from all ethnic and social groups. Manuel (Fray Angélico) Chávez, "The Penitentes of New Mexico," *NMHR* 29 (1954): 97-123, discusses a small Catholic sect which is frowned upon by the hierarchy.

Other articles of use relative to cultural aspects in the United States portion of the border region are:

- Barker, George C., "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community" *Acta Americana* 5 (1947): 185-202. Pachuco as a language, and its functions.
- Brunbaugh, Martin G., "An Educational Policy for Spanish-American Civilization" *Annals* 30 (July, 1910): 65-68.
- Hawley, Florence and Donovan Senter, "Group Designed Behavior Patterns in Two Acculturating Groups" *SJA* 2 (1946): 133-151.
- Hollon, Gene, "The Kerrville Cedar Axe" *SWHQ* 50 (1946-1947): 241-250.
- Humphrey, Norman D., "Some Marriage Problems of Detroit Mexicans," *AA* 3 (1944): 13-15.
- Johansen, Sigurd, "Family Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area" *SSR* 28 (1943-1944): 123-131. Concerns Dona Ana County, New Mexico, which is two-thirds Spanish-speaking. Family interrelationships, family and social control, changing family life are discussed.
- Miller, Herbert Adolphus, "The Oppression Psychoses and the Immigrant," *Annals* 93 (Jan., 1921): 139-144.
- Rosenquist, Carl M. and Alvin H. Schafft, "Differential Fertility in Rural Texas" *Rural Sociology* 12 (1947): 21-26. Of factors considered, only significant correlation found were tractor density (direct and varying) and education (indirect). Urbanism was observed to have a depressing effect on fertility of nearby farm population.
- Spiro, Melford E., "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups" *AA* 57 (1955): 1140-1152.
- Steiner, Jesse Frederick, "Some Factors Involved in Minimizing Race Friction on the Pacific Coast" *Annals* 96 (July, 1921): 116-120.
- Thomas, Dorothy Swain, "Differential Fertility in California in 1930: The Racial Aspect" *Social Forces* 20 (1941-1942): 146-154. White fertility ratios higher than Negro among all groups except rural farm, but "other races" (including Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese, etc. etc.) about three times as high as native white. Taken from data in 1930 census.
- Wooten, (Mrs.) Mattie Lloyd, "Marital Conditions of the Population of Texas, 1890-1930" *SWSSQ* 16, No. 1 (1935-1936): 69-85. By age, parentage, etc.

Mexico

The following articles relative to certain aspects of Mexican culture, a clarification of which is necessary for any study of the border as a discrete culture area, have important data not available in other sources:

- Beals, Ralph L., "The Mexican Student Views the United States" *Annals* 294 (September, 1954): 108-116. A preliminary publication based upon a portion of the data later used in his *No Frontier to Learning*.
- Beals, Ralph L., "Unilateral Organization in Mexico" *AA* 34 (1932): 467-475.
- Gamio, Manuel, "An Analysis of Social Processes and the Obstacles to Agricultural Progress in Mexico" *Rural Sociology* 2 (1937): 143-147. Gamio held that the whole culture pattern was backward and primitive, and that to expect farm modernization to take hold was unrealistic. The slowness with which rural Mexico has accepted modern agricultural technology largely supports Gamio's analysis.
- Handman, Max Sylvius, "Economic Reasons for the Coming of the Mexican Immigrant" *AJS* 35 (1929-1930): 601-611. Gives not only reasons for emigration, but discusses the influence on Mexico by returning migrants, and problems created by them while in the U. S. The problems in the United States not met because of pressing need for cheap labor supplied by migrants.
- Hayner, Norman S., "Differential Social Change in a Mexican Town" *Social Forces* 26 (1947-1948): 381-390. Shows some of the social change and attitudes going on in a Oaxaca village.
- Henríquez Ureña, Pedro (ed.), "El español en México, los Estados Unidos y América Central" *RevCub* 11 (1937): 147-160. Differences in manner of speech and use of words and expression. Regional differences in Mexico are not sufficiently explored.
- Humphrey, Norman D., "The Generic Folk Culture of Mexico" *Rural Sociology* 8 (1943): 364-377. Mexican family and roles consonant with it tend to reflect generic elements of the folk culture. The hacienda system conducive to economic interdependence, and consequently a folk culture.
- Humphrey, Norman D., "Social Stratification in a Mexican Town" *SWJA* 5 (1949): 138. Town in Jalisco, an area which has furnished many migrant workers and permanent immigrants in the border area.
- Humphrey, Norman D., "The Cultural Background of the Mexican Immigrant" *Rural Sociology* 13 (1948): 239-255. Analysis of education and schools, religion and church, family, etc., in Tecolatlán, Jalisco, which is typical of the culture and society from which many Mexicans emigrated to the U. S. It is a mestizo, Spanish-speaking community. The change from the old hacienda system to the agrarian community (ejido) has altered forms of social stratification.
- Kirk, William, "Cultural Conflict in Mexican Life" *SSR* 15 (1930-1931): 352-364. Descriptive and analytical of Indian-white culture conflicts, without reference to any particular region.
- Redfield, Robert, "The Material Culture of Spanish-Indian Mexico"

- AA 31 (1929): 602-618. A general account, without reference to any particular region or section.
- Sterling, Henry S., "The Changing Face of Rural Mexico" *GeogRev* 39 (1949): 139-143.

Folklore

The most useful of the folklore articles are:

- Espinosa, Aurelio Macedonio, "Spanish Folktales from California" *Hispania* 23 (1940): 121-144. Twelve tales in Spanish text.
- Espinosa, Aurelio Macedonio, "Spanish Folk-lore in New Mexico" *NMHR* 1 (1926): 135-155.
- Hurt, Wesley R., "Spanish American Superstitions" *Palacio* 47 (1940): 193-201. Miscellany of beliefs from Central New Mexico.
- Hurt, Wesley R., "Witchcraft in New Mexico" *Palacio* 47 (1940): 73-83. Witchcraft among Spanish-speaking in the typical towns of Manzano and Bernalillo, including witch stories and beliefs.
- Pearce, Thomas M., "New Mexican Folk Etymologies" *Palacio* 50 (1943): 229-234. Stories supposed to account for various names, such as greaser, gringo, and the like. There is some question concerning the derivation of many of the terms.
- Rael, Juan B., "Cuentos españoles de Colorado y de Nuevo México" *JAF* 52 (1939): 227-323. 47 Spanish texts from a collection of 410 tales Rael has collected. These were followed by the next reference.
- Rael, Juan B., "Cuentos españoles de Colorado y de Nuevo México" *JAF* 55 (1942): 1-93. This is a continuation of the series begun in the previous citation. The tales are in Spanish text and are numbered 48-111 of the series.
- Rael, Juan B., "New Mexican Wedding Songs" *SFQ* 4 (1940): 55-72. Describes *entrega de novios*, apparently of New Mexican origin, with verses of other versions of *entregas*.

Health and Sanitation

One of the most interesting findings in the field of health in the border area has been accomplished through the efforts of a staff member of the University of Texas Medical Branch. E. Gartley Jaco, in a 1956 preliminary report of findings of a research project devoted to the determination of psychoses, concluded that the Spanish-speaking were apparently considerably less susceptible than either the Anglos or the non-whites. Jaco readily admits that the methods used for the project are open to question and that the findings had not been fully correlated at the time of his report, but the data seemed to indicate a major differential. The short preliminary report, "The Distribution of Psychoses in Texas, by Se-

lected Characteristics," may be found in the *Proceedings of the Southwestern Sociological Society*, 1956: pp. 106-109. Christine A. Heller, "Regional Patterns of Dietary Deficiency: The Spanish-American of New Mexico and Arizona," *Annals* 225 (January, 1943): 49-51, came to less startling conclusions relative to diet. Her findings indicated a low calory diet, as well as one low in calcium, protein (both kind and amount), and vitamin C in spite of the high vitamin C content of fresh chilis; but the chilis are primarily used in the dried form, and the vitamin content is seriously impaired in the drying process.

One of the major health problems in the area stems from the inability of the low income groups to afford proper medical care when it is needed. A number of medical cooperatives have been attempted, but most of them have failed after a short trial; one which did not fail is reported upon in M. Taylor Matthews, "The Wheeler County, Texas, Rural Health Services Association," *Rural Sociology* 11 (1946): 128-137. A pre-payment medical plan operating in a county in the Texas Panhandle on the edge of the border region, the program enjoyed high general approval and the members retained a high morale, as are shown by several indices. A different kind of problem is reported upon in Nicolas Mirkowich, "Migration and Infant Mortality in Rural Counties of California," *Rural Sociology* 6 (1941): 160-164. Mirkowich found, not surprisingly, that infant mortality is higher in rural than in urban areas, higher among the Spanish-speaking than among other whites, and higher in migrant than in non-migrant regions. The investigator gave no clear explanation of the factors involved in the differential rates.

In recent years there has been considerable attention paid to the Mexican diet in general, and a great deal of fundamental research has been undertaken in the dietary field. The results of some of that research have appeared in a series of articles in *Ciencia*, a Mexican publication devoted to the natural and medical sciences. The most useful of these articles follow; none deals specifically with the border area:

Cravioto, O. Y., F. de María Figueroa, René Cravioto, and G. Massieu H., "Comparación del valor nutritivo de la tortilla, pan, y harina de trigo," *Ciencia* 12 (1952): 19-22.

Cravioto, O. Y., F. de María Figueroa, René Cravioto and G. Massieu H., "Estudios sobre proteínas y aminoácidos en dietas mexicanas," *Ciencia* 13 (1953): 65-70.

- Cravioto, René, "Valor nutritivo de los alimentos mexicanos," *Ciencia* 11 (1951): 9.
- Massieu, H., G. J. Guzmán, and René Cravioto, "Consideraciones sobre la dieta rural mexicana," *Ciencia* 13 (1953): 129-136.

Other articles concerning health:

- Dublin, Louis I., "La mortalidad por tuberculosis entre los grupos raciales del suroeste de los Estados Unidos," *BolSocMexGeoEstad* 66 (July-October, 1948): 5.
- Hoffman, F. L., "Health in Modern Mexico," *AJPH* (April, 1927): 353-355.
- Molyneux, J. Lambert, "Differential Mortality in Texas," *ASR* 10 (1945): 17.
- Redford, Emmette S., "Security to Aged, Dependent Children, Blind and Unemployed with Particular Reference to the Southwestern States," *SWSSQ* 17 (1936-1937): 249-262.
- Shapiro, Harold A., "Health Conditions in San Antonio, Texas, 1900-1947," *SWSSQ* 34 No. 3 (1953-1954): 60-76.

CHAPTER XI

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Of all the topics discussed in this guide, the one most poorly represented in available literature of an objective and analytical nature is in the realm of government and politics. Whether there is a unique pattern of relationships between the individual and the state, whether the political process deviates from that of the national mainstream, whether the methods of political control and political activity are discrete, and a hundred other questions of the same variety have simply not been answered. It is clear, of course, that the United States side of the border region has been heavily influenced by Spanish and Mexican law, and that accordingly Texas and New York have different legal systems. It is also clear that the presence of the Spanish-speaking, many of whom are illiterate, has had an influence on political process and political practice, and there is some evidence that the corruption in both Jim Wells and Duval Counties, Texas, has in part sprung from the existence of Spanish-speaking in proportionately great numbers. But whether Duval County corruption is of a distinctly different *genre* from that which plagued Jersey City for so long, or which occasionally strikes other cities in the United States, has certainly not been clarified by any solid analysis. Hints of the probabilities of such differences may be found in a number of the sources previously cited; the most fruitful is Ozzie Simmons' doctoral thesis concerning McAllen, Texas. The above statements do not mean to imply, of course, that the area of political analysis has been stricken by total scholarly drought; there are some excellent works on various phases of political activity, but in the main they deal with administrative relationships and the nature of the structure of government. This is a far cry from the kind of political analysis which would be needed to determine the existence of a unique political situation. Furthermore, the best of the works, with the exception of an article or two and a book chapter or so, deal with questions of state-wide import in terms so general that the extrapolation of pertinent data concerning the border region itself is next to impossible. One looks in vain, for example, for a solid analysis of bureaucratic structure, at county, municipal, or party level which would indicate clearly whether there are fundamental differences

between political bureaucracy in Webb County, fronting on the Rio Grande, and Lipscomb County in the upper Texas Panhandle. And yet all available evidence and all logic would indicate the strong probabilities of distinctly different patterns.

The United States side of the international boundary is poorly represented, but the Mexican side is even worse off in this field. Local government in general, for example, has been almost completely neglected; there are no satisfactory descriptions of the local government system as it ostensibly operates, nor are there any publications dealing with the actualities of local politics and local government. Roy A. Clifford's *The Rio Grande Flood: A Comparative Study of Border Communities in Disaster* (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1956. 145 pp.) discusses certain aspects of local government in Piedras Negras and points out some of the differences between the presumably normal flow of directives and activities and the flow under emergency conditions. The analysis is excellent as far as it goes, but Clifford's primary concern was reaction to disaster and not political analysis, and therefore the portions concerning bureaucratic structure could scarcely be considered as definitive. The actualities of local government, the relationships between local government organizations and state government, and even of the state government with the national government, are nowhere clearly delineated or fully analysed. With this dearth of cogent literature, then, it is impossible to determine whether the Mexican border section has developed any unique political institutions; but again, the rather frail evidence available suggests the probability of differences.

Books and Monographs

Cited below are the books, monographs, and pamphlets, listed in alphabetical order, coming from either private or governmental sources. In addition to the specific works cited here, there are numerous annual reports of the state governments which are useful as research tools but of little value for descriptive analysis:

- Anderson, Lynn, *The State Property Tax in Texas* (Austin: Bureau of Municipal Research, The University of Texas, 1948. 132 pp.).
- Anderson, Lynn Foster, and Thomas E. McMillan, *Financing State Government in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 196 pp.).
- Arizona Territorial Government, *Minutes of the Constitutional Convention of the Territory of Arizona* (Tucson: Territory of Arizona, 1911. 450 pp.).

- Behringer, Frederick David, *New Mexico Municipalities and County Consolidation in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937. 31 pp.). Two articles, originally published in the *New Mexico Business Review*, reprinted in pamphlet form. Descriptive rather than analytical.
- Bloom, Lansing B., and Thomas C. Donnelly, *New Mexico History and Civics* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1933. 539 pp.). Essentially a text, but a convenient source of the principal elements of the state governmental system.
- Bollens, John Constantinus and Stanly Scott, *Local Government in California*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951. 154 pp.). Good and concise; one of a series of monographs on California government.
- California, State of, *Statement of Vote at General Election, held on November 7, 1916, in this State of California*. Compiled by Frank C. Jordan, Secretary of State (Sacramento: Secretary of State, 1916. 36 pp.). A report on the election. This is one of a series of like publications, useful for statistical data but with no analysis.
- California, State of, *General Election Laws, Supplement of 1916* (Sacramento: Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1916. 62 pp.). One of a series of publications on the election laws.
- California, State of, *Roster of State Officials, Commissions and Institutions, also of County Officials of the State of California, April 1, 1912. Important Laws of General Interest enacted at the Sessions of the Legislature, 1911 to 1912* (Sacramento: Secretary of State of California, 1912. 98 pp.). One of a series of regularly published directories with useful data.
- Donnelly, Thomas C., *The Absentee Voter Problem in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1938. 8 pp.).
- Donnelly, Thomas C. (ed.). *Rocky Mountain Politics* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940. 304 pp.). Series of articles on Utah, Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, and Arizona. The following are of particular value: "New Mexico: An Area of Conflicting Cultures," by Donnelly, and "Arizona: A State of New-Old Frontiers," by W. E. Waltz.
- MacCorkle, Stuart Alexander and Dick Smith, *Texas Government* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949. 587 pp.). A college text, with the usual strengths and weaknesses of such works.
- McKay, Seth Shepard, *Texas Politics, 1906-1944* (Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1952. 486 pp.).
- McMillan, Thomas E., *State Supervision of Municipal Finance* (Austin: University of Texas Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 100 pp.).
- Martin, Roscoe C., *Urban Local Government in Texas* (University of Texas Bulletin 3637, October 1, 1936; Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences, Study No. 20. 357 pp.). Some of the significant problems related to the "metropolitan region," using Dallas, El

Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio as examples. One of the most useful of the publications dealing with the political analysis of the region.

Mexico. State of Chihuahua, *Constitución política del estado de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Estado de Chihuahua, 1950. 55 pp.). Official text of the state constitution, with a brief title index.

Mexico. State of Chihuahua, *Código administrativo del Estado de Chihuahua* (Mexico: La Impresora, 1950. 675 pp. loose leaf). Includes the constitution of the state as well as the administrative code. Chihuahua was the first of the states to enact such a code.

Mexico. Coahuila; Gobernador, *Informe del C. Gobernador del Estado* (Saltillo: Estado de Coahuila, 1942. 75 pp.). An example of a periodic publication.

Mexico. Nuevo León; Gobernador, *Informe que rinde el C. General de Brigada Bonifacio Salinas Leal, Gobernador Constitucional del Estado de Nuevo León, al H. Congreso del Estado, sobre su Labor Administrativa llevada a cabo durante el año de 1941-1942, y memoria anexa.* (Monterrey: Imp. Monterrey, 1942. 161 pp.). Includes maps of the state and the city of Monterrey. These publications are periodically issued, under slightly different titles.

Mexico. Dirección General Técnica de Organización, Secretaría de Bienes Nacionales é Inspección Administrativa, *Directorio del Gobierno Federal: Poderes Legislativo, Ejecutivo y Judicial* (Mexico: Dirección General Técnica de Org., Sec. de B. N. é I. A.; various years). This annual directory includes the constitution, the laws regulating the organization of the various parts of the Federal government, and a list of the personnel of all departments of the government. Included are all Senators, Deputies, as well as appointed officials. Personnel in the state governments, including governor and members of the legislature, are included under the section devoted to Gobernación.

Murphy, Wallace C., *County Government and Administration in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1933. 334 pp. Bulletin no. 3324).

Myres, S. D. Jr. (ed.). *Parole in the Southwest. Proceedings of the First Southwestern State Probation and Parole Conference* (Dallas: The Arnold Foundation, Southern Methodist University, 1936. 98 pp.). Conference held in Galveston, Sept., 1936. Here are published the papers and commentaries delivered.

Myres, S. D. Jr. (ed.). *The Government of Texas, a Survey* (Dallas: Arnold Foundation, Southern Methodist University. 1934. 148 pp.). 15 papers given at a symposium.

New Mexico, (Territory of) *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of New Mexico held at Santa Fe, October 3, 1910 to November 21, 1910.* (Albuquerque: Press of the Morning Journal, 1910).

- Patterson, Caleb P., Samuel B. McAlister and George Hester, *State and Local Government in Texas* (Revised edition, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. 590 pp.).
- Roberts, Warren Aldrich, *Arizona Tax Problems* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1935. 29 pp.).
- Texas, State of, *Members of the Legislature of the State of Texas from 1846 to 1939* (Huntsville: Prison Print Shop, 1939. 377 pp.). Compiled by the clerks of the State Legislature in accord with a resolution by the Legislature. Arrangement not too good, but material there. Listing for each legislature alphabetically by legislator.
- Tiscareño Silva, Rafael, *Interpretación del artículo 78 de la Constitución del Estado de Coahuila de Zaragoza* (Mexico: UNAM, 1950. 89 pp.). Thesis at the UNAM on federal-state relations. The article in question concerns the term of the state governor, and the author discusses it in terms of national constitutional principles.
- University of Texas Bureau of Municipal Research, *Units of Local Government in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1941. 221 pp.).
- Weeks, Oliver Douglas, *Texas Presidential Politics in 1952* (Austin: University of Texas Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 116 pp.). Description and analysis of the manner of selecting delegates and of voting behavior.

Articles in Journals

Journal articles useful for an investigation of political patterns and procedures for both sides of the international boundary are listed below in alphabetical order:

- Almada, Francisco R., "Gobernadores del estado," *BolSocChi* 2 (1939-1940): 298-299, 325-327, 364-369, 377; 3 (1940-1941): 390-397, 411. A listing with some biographical data, of all governors to that date. More useful for political history than for political analysis.
- Bloom, Lansing B., "The Governors of New Mexico," *NMHR* 10 (1935): 152-157. Short introduction, then chronological list from Juan de Oñate (1698) to Clyde Tingley (1935—). Divided into Spanish Rule, Mexican Rule, U. S. Military, U. S. Civil-Military, U. S. Territorial, and State.
- Bradshaw, H. C., "Budgeting in Texas Counties in Terms of Living within Available Resources," *SWSSQ* 21 (1940-1941): 325-334.
- Bradshaw, H. C., "Tenure of Elective County Officials in Texas, 1931-1944," *SWSSQ* 25 (1944-1945): 202-207. Among other things, tabular list of the mean average number of years for the various officials.
- Claunch, J. M., "Fight for Civil Service in Texas," *SWSSQ* 24 (1943-1944): 46-57.

- Haynes, George H., "Representation in State Legislatures IV: The Western States," *Annals* 16 (March 1908): 243-272.
- Hill, James D., "Mining District Decay in the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 10 (1929-1930): 95-102. Degeneration of the Mining District as a quasi-municipal governmental unit. By 1881 practically gone.
- Houghton, N. D., "Arizona's Experience with the Initiative and Referendum," *NMHR* 29 (1954): 183-209.
- Irigoyen, Ulises, "El Coronel Miguel Ahumada, gobernante educador," *BolSocChi* 5 (1943-1944): 10-30. Governor of Chihuahua during Díaz administration; what he did in the realm of education, which much improved during his administration. More eulogistic than analytical.
- Jackson, J. W., "Texas Politics in 1948," *SWSSQ* 30 (1949-1950): 45-48.
- McKay, Seth S., "O'Daniel, Roosevelt, and the Texas Republican Counties," *SWSSQ* 26 (1945-1946): 1-21. An analysis of voting behavior in the central Texas counties which vote Republican, showing inconsistencies and indicating that O'Daniel received a bigger support from the Republican Counties than he did in the remainder of the state, in proportion. One of the few attempts at analysing voting behavior in the region.
- Martin, Roscoe C., "The Grange as a Political Factor in Texas," *SWSSQ* 6 (1925-1926): 363-383.
- Martin, Roscoe C., "The County Home Rule Movement in Texas," *SWSSQ* 15 (1934-1935): 307-317.
- Mecham, J. Lloyd, "The Jefe Político in Mexico," *SWSSQ* 13 (1933): 333-353. A good exposition and analysis of the nature and function of the local political chieftain.
- Mecham, J. Lloyd, "Mexican Federalism—Fact or Fiction?" *Annals* 208 (March, 1940): 23-38. After a rather solid analysis of constitutional provisions and of actual practice, Mecham concludes that federalism is a myth, and that the president is virtually uncontrolled in his power.
- Myres, S. D., Jr., "Mysticism, Realism and the Texas Constitution of 1876," *SWSSQ* 9 (1928-1929): 166-184. Very good article on the conditions and atmosphere in which the Constitution of 1876 drafted, and later attitudes toward possible change. The general burden is that the Constitution has become a symbol of perfection, and therefore must not be changed. Many insist that the breed of men who drafted the Constitution has disappeared.
- Neylan, John Francis, "California's State Budget," *Annals* 62 (Nov., 1915): 69-72.
- Parkes, Henry Bamford, "Political Leadership in Mexico," *Annals* 208 (March, 1940): 12-22. A generalized treatment of the nature of Mexican leadership, as it appears to the historian and with historical perspective; while useful, it is not an outstandingly perceptive work.

- Pate, James E., "Central Administrative Control over Municipalities in the Southwest," *SWSSQ* 8 (1927-1928): 225-252.
- Reeve, Frank D., "New Mexico Editorial Opinion on Supreme Court Reform," *NMHR* 15 (1940): 72-76. Generally against Roosevelt's plan. One of the few examples of an attempt at opinion analysis.
- Titus, Charles H., "Voting in California Cities, 1900-1925," *SWSSQ* 8 (1927-1928): 383-399. Indicates voting trends and patterns over the period. Not strictly applicable to the border, but gives useful information for comparison.
- Titus, Charles H., "Rural Voting in California, 1900-1926," *SWSSQ* 9 (1928-1929): 198-215. Follows same pattern as the preceding article, and has same usefulness.
- Walter, Paul A. F., "The First Civil Governor of New Mexico Under the Stars and Stripes," *NMHR* 8 (1933): 98-129.
- Weeks, O. Douglas, "The Texas-Mexican and the Politics of South Texas," *APSR* 24 (1930): 606-627. Virtually the only attempt at analysing the political importance of the Spanish-speaking, and now badly out of date.

CHAPTER XII

THE INDIANS IN THE BORDER AREA

Whether to include any mention of the Indian groups in this guide has been difficult to answer for three reasons. In the first place, literature concerning the Indian groups in the United States is so voluminous that a lengthy book would be necessary to list the titles. Secondly, the influence of the United States Indians on the creation of a cultural milieu which has tended to develop a unique region is highly doubtful; there is no evidence to suggest that the Pueblo Indians, for example, have been responsible for the creation of social systems, of economic patterns, of political concepts, or of other important cultural attributes among the population as a whole. Thirdly, there is some evidence to the contrary with respect to the Indian group on the Mexican side of the boundary; this is particularly true with respect to the Sonora Indians. In view of this last condition, it has been felt that at least some mention should be made of the nature and extent of available literature.

Books and Monographs

In view of the vastness of the literature dealing with the Indians in the United States, there will be no attempt here to assess or to describe that literature except in very general terms. From Frederick Webb Hodge's old, but still excellent, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912. 2 volumes) to Leo W. Simmons' *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Institute of Human Relations, 1942. 460 pp.) and to Evon Zartman Vogt's *Navaho Veterans: A Study of Changing Values* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1951. 223 pp.) virtually every aspect of Indian life has been covered by excellent scholarship. Much of the work has been sensitively descriptive, some has had strong theoretical implications, some has been enlightening in terms of method. Religion, social systems, acculturation, art, economy, music, mythology and folklore, medicine, history and a host of other topics have been covered for Hopis, Navahos, Zuñis, Apaches, Yuman tribes, Papagos and other groups impinging on the border region. A list-

ing of the scholars who have published excellent monographs, books or articles would include a large proportion of the outstanding anthropologists in the United States; among them are Edgar Hewett, Clyde Kluckhohn, Elsie Clews Parsons, Ruth Benedict, Adolph F. A. Bandelier, Morris Edward Opler, Leslie White and John Collier. One could only wish that other aspects of border life were as thoroughly and as excellently covered as is Indian life.

The Indians on the Mexican side have not been the subject of such extensive investigation, but here too a great body of excellent material is available. The most convenient source for locating the Indian culture areas in Mexico is Mexico, Secretaría de Educación Pública, *La población indígena de México* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1940. 3 volumes), volume I of which is concerned with the Indians of northern Mexico and includes a discussion of the less important groups as well as Tarahumaras, Papagos, Yaquis, and Mayos. Manuel Germán Parra, *Densidad de la población de habla indígena en la República Mexicana por entidades federativas y municipios conforme al censo de 1940* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1950. 76 pp.), gives the geographic distribution of linguistic groups, with subdivisions in terms of bi-lingualism; the three large, folding color maps are convenient for a quick location of the various groups. Carl O. Sauer's two short works, *Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. 33 pp. Ibero-Americana No. 10) and *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934. 94 pp.) are particularly useful for determining the growth or decline of aboriginal populations. Jorge Vivó, *Razas y lenguas indígenas de México. Su distribución geográfica* (Mexico: Industrial Gráfica, for the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, 1941. 58 pp.) is concise and usable. Alfred L. Kroeber's more general *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. 204 pp. University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, volume 38) is particularly excellent from the standpoint of method.

The following list of books and monographs does not pretend to be exhaustive; it is, rather, suggestive. For complete coverage, in both book and article form, Manuel German Parra, *Bibliografía indigenista de México y Centroamérica, 1850-1950* (Mexico: Ediciones del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954. 342 pp.), should be consulted:

- Basauri, Carlos, *Monografía de los Tarahumaras* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1929. 85 pp.).
- Beals, Ralph L., *The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1932. 225 pp., Ibero-Americana No. 2).
- Bennett, Wendell C., and Robert Zing, *The Tarahumara* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935. 412 pp.). A good ethnographic study, including culture change of the Chihuahua tribe famed as runners.
- Castetter, Edward F. and Willis H. Beel, *Pima and Papago Agriculture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942. 245 pp.).
- Coolidge, Dave and Mary Roberts Coolidge, *The Last of the Seris* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1939. 264 pp.). The Seris, a vanishing group not far from the Yaqui area, have been the subject of only casual investigation. This work is spotty and has many weaknesses, but has value since so little is known of the Seris.
- Gabel, Norman, *A Comparative Racial Study of the Papago* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, Publications in Anthropology No. 4, 1949. 96 pp.).
- Gómez Gonzalez, Filiberto, *Rarámuri: Mi Diario Tarahumara*, (Mexico, Tall. Tip. de Excelsior, 1948. 309 pp.).
- Grix, Arthur E., *Unter Olympiakampfern und Indianerlaufem. Eine reise vom weltolympia zu den sunderlaufem der Sierra* (Berlin: Limpert, 1935. 183 pp.).
- Holden, W. C., C. C. Seltzer, R. A. Studhalter, C. J. Wagner and W. G. McMillan, *Studies of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, Mexico* (Bulletin: Texas Technological College, Vol. 12, No. 1 Lubbock, Texas: 1936). Series of papers, mostly descriptive rather than analytical, of life, living, health, physical attributes, and the like.
- Hernández, Fortunato, *Las razas indígenas de Sonora y la guerra del Yaqui* (Mexico: Talleres de la Casa Edit. "J. de Elizalde," 1902. 295 pp.). Concerns Seris and other minor groups as well as the Yaqui. The Yaquis posed a real problem to the government at Mexico City until relatively recent years. They also served the Mexican revolutionary forces valiantly, though they were difficult to keep under military discipline.
- Martínez, (S. J.) Manuel, *Libro de lectura para los Tarahumaras* (Mexico: Escuela tipográfica salesiana, 1924. 78 pp.).
- Meigs, Peveril, *The Kiliwa Indians of Lower California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. 113 pp. Ibero-Americana 15). From northern part of Lower California. Only few survivors (36 in 1929) of tribe. Related to Yuman Culture, but mostly Mexican in culture pattern now.
- Montes de Oca, Alfonso Fábila, *La tribu kikapoo de Coahuila*, (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1945. 94 pp.). One of

the publications of the *Biblioteca enciclopédica popular*, designed primarily for the general reading public. In spite of the short time for field study and some outmoded concepts, and despite the popular nature of the study, the work is probably the best on the Mexican Kickapoos and merits attention. A branch of the Kickapoos remain in Oklahoma.

Montes de Oca, Alfonso Fábila *Las tribus Yaquis de Sonora, su cultura, y anhelada auto-determinación* (Mexico: Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, 1940. 313 pp.). Of some value: contains little of original material and contains much of a superficial nature, but better than many such popular studies.

Ocampo, Manuel, *Historia de la misión de la Tarahumara, 1900-1950* (Mexico: Buena Prensa, 1950. 350 pp.). An official Jesuit history based on mission papers as well as personal experience by a priest there since 1924.

Articles in Journals

The following articles are merely indicative of the nature of journal coverage:

Hrdlička, Aleš, "Notes on the Indians of Sonora, Mexico," *AA New Series* 6 (1904): 51-89. Mayos, Yaquis, Pimas, Opatas, Papagos, Yumas, and Seris.

Hrdlička, Aleš, "The Pueblos, with Comparative Data on the Bulk of the Tribes of the Southwest and Northern Mexico," *ASPA* 20 (1935): 235-460.

Michelson, Truman, "Punishment of Impudent Children Among the Kickapoos," *AA* 25 (1923): 281-283. List of varying ways of punishing, depending upon whether boy or girl, and to whom impudent. Wide variations of methods, styles, and agents of punishment depending upon above variables. Concerns the Oklahoma Kickapoo, but author suggests that roughly the same would be true of the Mexican Kickapoos.

Peña, Moisés T. de la, "Ensayo económico y social sobre el pueblo Tarahumara," *InvEcon* 4 (1944): 363-399. After a social and economic study of the Tarahumaras, Peña recommends ways by which they might be integrated into the social and economic life of Mexico.

Peña, Moisés T. de la, "Ensayo económico y social sobre el pueblo tarahumara, I," *BolSocChi* 5 (1945-1946): 426-436. This information here and in the two following references combined is the same as that given in the previous reference.

Peña, Moisés T. de la, "Ensayo económico y social sobre el pueblo tarahumara, II," *BolSocChi* 5 (1945-1946): 503-518.

Peña, Moisés T. de la, "Ensayo económico y social sobre el pueblo tarahumara (fin)," *BolSocChi* 6 (1946-1947): 18-19.

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1900

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of spontaneous generation.

2. The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation. The author shows that this theory is based on the fact that life is a complex of many different parts, and that these parts are all derived from a common ancestor. The author shows that the theory of spontaneous generation is the only one that can account for the complexity of life.

3. The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the evidence in favor of the theory of spontaneous generation. The author shows that the evidence is overwhelming, and that the theory is the only one that can account for the facts of life.

4. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the objections to the theory of spontaneous generation. The author shows that these objections are all based on a misunderstanding of the theory, and that the theory is in fact the only one that can account for the facts of life.

5. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the implications of the theory of spontaneous generation. The author shows that the theory has important implications for our understanding of the origin of life, and that it is the only theory that can account for the facts of life.

6. The sixth part of the paper is devoted to a conclusion. The author shows that the theory of spontaneous generation is the only one that can account for the facts of life, and that it is the only theory that has been supported by the evidence.

INDEX TO AUTHORS

A

Abbott, Edith, 92
 Abel, Anna Heloise, 133
 Abernathy, John R., 46
 Acosta, Roberto, 125
 Adair, John, 205
 Adams, R. L., 160, 162, 163
 Ainsa, Joseph Y., 17, 126
 Albig, William, 87
 Aldama y Hermosillo, Arturo, 201
 Alemán, Miguel, 145
 Alessio Robles, Miguel, 51, 52, 122, 129
 Alessio Robles, Vito, 5, 120, 121
 Alexander, Gladys Martha, 27
 Allen, R. H., 171
 Allen, Ruth Alice, 70, 82
 Almada, Francisco R., 55, 123, 140, 141, 216
 Almeida, Carlos Barney, 140
 Altus, William D., 82, 83, 147
 Alvarez del Villar, José, 197
 Anderson, Lillie Gerhardt, 48
 Anderson, Lynn, 213
 Anderson, Nels, 161
 Anderson, Robert, 14
 Anonymous, 35, 86, 101, 175, 177, 178
 Antúñez Echegaray, Francisco, 61, 189
 Apodaca, Anacleto G., 69
 Arbingast, Stanley, 45, 157
 Arensburg, Conrad M., 170
 Argüelles, Adalberto J., 52, 118
 Argüelles, Pedro, 141
 Argüello Castañeda, Francisco, 168
 Arizona: Territorial Government, 213
 Armstrong, John M., Jr., 99
 Ashburn, Karl E., 170, 171
 Attolini, José, 62, 190
 Austin, Mary, 86

B

Bagish, Henry, 77
 Bailer, Lloyd H., 88, 188
 Bailey, Vernon, 46
 Bailey, Wilfrid C., 88, 170
 Baker, Bernard N., 187
 Baker, Dwight, 152

Baldwin, P. M., 135
 Bamford, Edwin T., 78, 188
 Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 113, 116, 117, 122
 Bandelier, Adolph F. A., 41, 220
 Barger, J. Wheeler, 171
 Barker, Eugene C., 109, 136
 Barker, George C., 77, 88, 149, 207
 Barker, Ruth L., 88
 Barnes, Will C., 116
 Barocia, Alberto, 143
 Barr, George W., 162
 Barragán Rodríguez, Juan, 129
 Barrett, Ellen C., 6
 Barron, C. W., 22
 Bartlett, John Russell, 108
 Bary, Valeska, 118
 Basauri, Carlos, 221
 Batchelder, Roger, 129
 Bates, Robert Latimer, 182
 Baugh, W. H., 137, 188
 Beach, Allen W., 152
 Beach, Walter G., 152
 Beal, Carl Hugh, 186
 Beale, Edward Fitzgerald, 41
 Beals, Ralph L., 69, 84, 148, 194, 208, 221
 Bedford, J. H., 152
 Beers, Henry Putney, 156
 Behringer, Frederick David, 214
 Bell, P. L., 55
 Bell, Willis H., 221
 Benassini, Aurelio, 61, 175
 Bender, A. B., 48, 136
 Benedict, M. R., 172
 Benedict, Ruth, 220
 Bennett, Wendell C., 221
 Bensin, Basil M., 60, 195
 Benson, Nettie Lee, 51
 Benson, Richard M., 153
 Bernal Navarro, Ricardo, 201
 Berry, Brewton, 64
 Billington, Ray Allen, 105
 Binkley, William Campbell, 14
 Bishop, William Henry, 46, 58
 Bizzell, William B., 44, 45

Blackmar, Frank Wilson, 104, 194
 Blaisdell, Lowell L., 136
 Blanco Macías, Gonzalo, 167, 175
 Bloom, Lansing B., 48, 132, 214, 216
 Boatright, Mody C., 197
 Bogardus, Emory S., 78, 81, 85, 86, 88, 93, 100, 153
 Bojórquez, Juan de Dios, 61
 Bolaños Hernández, Rogelio, 201
 Bollens, John Constantinus, 214
 Bolton, Herbert E., 5, 9, 43, 104, 131
 Bonnen, C. A., 159
 Booth, George C., 143
 Borchard, Edwin M., 31
 Bostwick, Prudence, 5
 Botkin, B. A., 198
 Bourke, John Gregory, 48, 128, 205
 Bowyer, Edith M., 38, 74
 Box, Dorothy Mae, 130
 Boyd, James V., 130
 Boyd, Nathan E., 115
 Boynton, Joshua B., 150
 Bradshaw, H. C., 216
 Brand, Donald, 58, 195
 Bray, Lillian A., 52
 Brayer, Herbert O., 140
 Brent, Robert A., 137
 Briggs, Lloyd Vernon, 46
 Broadhurst, W. L., 157
 Brooke, George, 129
 Brookshire, Marjorie S., 77
 Broom, Leonard, 82
 Broom, Perry, 150
 Browder, Walter Gordon, 161
 Brown, Malcolm, 161
 Browne, J. Ross, 62
 Brunbaugh, Martin G., 155, 207
 Buelna, Eustaquio, 62
 Burks, David D., 130
 Burma, John H., 64, 88
 Bush, I. J., 34, 201
 Butler, Bert S., 183
 Butts, Onna B. M., 203

C

Cabeza de Baca Gilbert, Fabiola, 38, 158
 Cadena, Protasio P., 195
 Cahn, Frances, 118
 Calcano, José Alfonso, 202
 Calderón, Francisco R., 107

Calero, Manuel, 22
 California: State of, 8, 75, 98, 149, 160, 214
 Call, Tomme Clark, 33, 185
 Callahan, James Morton, 12
 Callicut, Laurie Timmons, 150
 Calvin, Ross, 66
 Cámara Nacional de Comercio é Industria, 186
 Campbell, Walter S., 4, 5
 Campos Robledo, Pablo, 202
 Carlson, Hilding B., 155
 Carranza, Venustiano, 122
 Carreño, Alberto María, 12
 Carrillo Flores, Antonio, 190
 Carroll, H. Bailey, 10
 Carter, George F., 46
 Carter, Hugh, 88
 Carvillo, Alfonso R., 35
 Cashin, Jack W., 182
 Cassmore, Orin C., 72, 88, 101
 Castañeda, Carlos E., 5, 14, 109
 Castañeda Alatorre, Fernando, 18, 27
 Castellanos, Abraham, 145
 Caster, Emile, 57
 Castetter, Edward F., 221
 Castillo Mirazo, Moisés, 201
 Castillo Negrete, Manuel de, 165
 Caughey, John W., 117
 Cauley, T. J., 188
 Cavazos Garza, Israel, 60, 120, 195
 Chabot, Frederick C., 15, 112
 Chamberlain, Eugene K., 140, 190
 Chambers, William T., 45, 48
 Chase, C. M., 115
 Chávez, Ezequiel A., 145
 Chávez, Manuel, 115, 206
 Chávez Orozco, Luis, 145
 Chihuahua: State of, 52
 Chaverri Matamoros, Amado, 125
 Chyz, Yaroslav J., 85
 Clauch, J. M., 216
 Cleland, Robert Glass, 117, 118, 158
 Clifford, Roy A., 213
 Clifton, C. Stanley, 200
 Cline, Howard F., 14, 195
 Cloud, Roy W., 146
 Clum, John P., 48, 133, 136
 Coalson, George O., 35, 102, 189
 Cobb, W. Montague, 89

Cokerill, P. W., 159
 Cole, Stewart G., 149
 Coleman, A., 149
 Collier, John, 220
 Colorado River Commission of Arizona, 18
 Comas, Juan, 89
 Combier, Cyprien, 57
 Combined Mexican Working Party, 185
 Comisión Pesquisadora de la Frontera del Norte, 17
 Conference on the Education of Spanish-Speaking People, 148
 Congreso Nacional Revolucionario de Derecho Agrario, 166
 Connor, Seymour V., 9
 Contreras Arias, Alfonso, 168
 Cook, John R., 46
 Cook, S. J., 118
 Cooke, Henry W., 154
 Cooke, Philip St. George, 47
 Coolidge, David, 106, 221
 Coolidge, Mary Roberts, 221
 Cordova, Andrew R., 162
 Corral, Ramón, 124, 125
 Cosío Villegas, Daniel, 31, 36, 89, 107
 Cossío, David A., 119
 Cozzens, Samuel W., 38
 Crain, Forest Burr, 78
 Crane, Marian M., 67
 Crane, Robert C., 137
 Crasilneck, Harold B., 203
 Cravioto, O. Y., 210
 Cravioto, René, 210, 211
 Crawford, L. A., 159
 Crawford, W. Rex, 79
 Crimmins, Martin L., 29, 136
 Cross, Dorothy Embry, 161
 Cross, William T., 161, 189
 Crus Márquez, E. J., 153
 Cumberland, Charles C., 29, 30, 32, 89, 136, 173
 Curtis, Albert, 47
 Curtis, F. S., Jr., 137
 Cutter, Victor M., 187

D

Dabbs, Jack Aubrey, 6
 Da Camara, Kathleen, 47, 112
 Dale, Alfred G., 182

Dale, Edward E., 43, 106
 D'Antonio, William V., 203, 204
 Dargan, Marion, 133
 Darrah, William Culp, 156
 Davies, Jules, 130, 135
 Davidson, Levette Jay, 5
 Davidson, William, 85
 Dávila, F. T., 54
 Davis, Kingsley, 79
 Davis, W. M., 62, 190
 Davis, William Watts Hart, 40
 Dawson, Joseph Martin, 84
 Deasy, George F., 61, 140
 DeBekker, Leander Jan, 22, 34
 Delgado Hernández, Felipe, 177
 Denver University National Opinion Research Center, 65
 Desvernine, Raoul E., 24
 DeWetter, Mardee, 35, 130, 141
 Díaz Mercado, Joaquín, 6
 Dicken, Samuel N., 59, 60, 61, 175, 195
 Dickson, Lenore, 89
 Diefendorf, John W., 146
 Diego-Fernández, Salvador, 22
 Diguett, L., 57, 62
 Dirks, Dempster, 58, 99
 Dobie, J. Frank, 4, 5, 47, 52, 83, 84, 198
 Dodson, Jack Elwood, 77
 Domenech, Emmanuel Henri D., 41, 58
 Donnell, F. S., 137
 Donnell, Guy R., 28
 Donnelly, Thomas Claude, 114, 201, 214
 Doolittle, James Rood, 133
 Dorroh, John H., 45, 46
 Dorsey, Susan M., 155
 Doster, Bernice, 88
 Drumm, Stella M., 40
 Dublin, Louis I., 211
 Duffus, Robert Luther, 47
 Duncan, Otis Durant, 83
 Dunham, Harold H., 137
 Dunham, Kingsley Charles, 182
 Dunn, Frederick Sherwood, 12
 Durán, Gustavo, 198

E

Eckert, Jacqueline C. G., 28
 Editora Nacional, 128
 Edmonson, Munro S., 76, 203
 Edwards, Alba M., 66

Edwards, Everett Eugene, 7
 Eisen, Gustav, 62
 Elliot, Edwin A., 173
 Elliott, Claude, 7
 Elliott, F. F., 159
 Elliott, Robert S., 203
 Ellison, Simon J., 35
 Emory, William Helmsley, 15, 16, 40
 Escobar, Abelardo, 177
 Escudero, José Agustín de, 54
 Espejo, José A., 52
 Espinosa, Aurelio Macedonio, 209
 Espinosa, José Manuel, 137, 198
 Espinosa, Rafael, 62
 Espinosa de los Reyes, Jorge, 33
 Espinosa Magaña, Francisco, 202
 Espinoza, José Angel, 126
 Esquivel Obregón, Toribio, 13, 30
 Estrada Rousseau, Manuel, 10
 Etnier, Ruth S., 89
 Ewing, T. W., 65
 Evans, C. E., 145

F

Fabela, Isidro, 13
 Fain, Tyrus, 203
 Falconer, Thomas, 40
 Fall, Albert B., 21
 Farish, Thomas Edwin, 116
 Feller, A. H., 13, 24
 Fenton, Norman, 155
 Fergusson, Erna, 44, 114
 Fergusson, Harvey, 46
 Fernández del Campo Colorado, José,
 202
 Fernández y Fernández, Ramón, 166,
 174, 175
 Figueroa, F. de María, 210
 Finkelstein, James, 77
 Fisher, Reginald G., 6
 Flandrau, Charles M., 195
 Flores D., Jorge, 127
 Foerster, Robert Franz, 92
 Fogartie, Ruth Ann, 74, 148
 Foix, Pere, 129
 Forbes, Robert H., 16, 34, 126
 Form, William H., 204
 Foscue, Edwin, 173, 188
 Foster, George M., 84
 Foster, Maurice H., 58, 170

Fowler, Harlan D., 43
 Francis, Jessie D., 77, 130
 Freier, Koka, 164
 French, James A., 42
 Fries, Carl, Jr., 57
 Fröbel, Julius, 50
 Frola, Francisco, 174
 Fuentes Mares, José, 123
 Fugate, Frank L., 70
 Fuller, Douglas Pitts, 15
 Fuller, Varden, 152
 Fulton, Maurice Garland, 39, 58, 114

G

Gabel, Norman, 221
 Gaither, Roscoe B., 26
 Galarza, Ernesto, 94
 Galcana, Sergio Berdeja, 18
 Galindo y Villa, Jesús, 50
 Gallegos, José María, 62
 Gambrell, Herbert P., 110
 Gamio, Manuel, 65, 68, 84, 93, 99, 174,
 194, 208
 Garber, Paul Neff, 15
 García Conde, Pedro, 52, 60
 García Cubas, Antonio, 49, 164
 García y Alva, Federico, 62, 190
 Gardner, E. D., 183
 Garibaldi, Lorenzo, 125
 Garlock, Lorene A., 60, 175, 177
 Garnett, Hattie Mae, 150
 Garrard, Lewis Hector, 33
 Garrett, Pat, 44
 Garth, T. R., 155
 Garza, Edward D., 77
 Garza Treviño, Ciro de la, 118
 Gates, William Edmond, 144
 Geertz, Clifford J., 170
 Gerhard, Peter, 29, 35, 61, 135, 136, 140
 Germán Parra, Manuel, 220
 Gipson, Fred, 42, 158
 Glassfor, W. A., 42
 Goldkind, Victor, 203
 Goldschmidt, Walter R., 206
 Goldstein, Marcus, 67, 201
 Gómez, Marte R., 119, 167
 Gómez González, Filiberto, 221
 Gómez Robledo, Antonio, 22
 González, Arturo, 118
 González, Héctor, 6, 120

González, J. Eleuterio, 121
 González, Jovita, 78
 González, Manuel W., 129
 González Flores, Enrique, 122, 123, 124
 González Ramírez, Manuel, 34, 125
 González Reina, Jenaro, 186
 González Santos, Armando, 177
 González Treviño, Luis, 59
 Good, Edgar F., 41, 58
 Goodnight, Charles, 111
 Goodsell, Orval E., 159
 Goodrich, Carter Lyman, 92
 Goodwyn, Frank, 198
 Grant, Blanche Chloé, 115
 Graves, Richard W., 181
 Greeley, A. W., 42
 Greene, Graham, 196
 Greene, Lawrence, 17, 34
 Greer, Richard E., 80
 Greer, Scott A., 77
 Greever, William S., 47, 183
 Gregg, Josiah, 39
 Gregg, Robert Danforth, 18, 34
 Gregory, Gladys G., 28
 Grisham, Glen, 84
 Grix, Arthur E., 221
 Guadiana Ibarra, Miguel, 195
 Gual Vidal, Manuel, 145
 Guerra, Eduardo, 122
 Guevara Delmas, Cristóbal, 166
 Guzmán, J., 211

H

Hacker, D. B., 68
 Hackett, Charles Wilson, 20
 Hagerman, Herbert J., 115
 Haley, J. Evetts, 111, 132
 Hallenbeck, Cleve, 70, 197
 Hammond, George, 9, 41, 58, 114
 Hammond, William J., 32, 36, 171
 Hamner, Laura V., 111
 Hancock, Ralph, 57
 Handman, Max S., 84, 85, 208
 Hansen, Marcus Lee, 91
 Hanson, Robert C., 204
 Harper, Allan G., 162
 Harris, Karl, 163
 Harris, Larry A., 20, 129
 Harrison, John P., 5

Hartrick, Wade J., 35
 Harwood, T. F., 9
 Hasse, Adelaide, 5
 Hastings, James K., 48
 Hatt, Paul, 87
 Haught, B. F., 89
 Hawley, Florence, 154, 205, 207
 Hayes, Jess G., 106
 Hayner, Norman S., 208
 Haynes, George H., 217
 Heffernan, Helen, 148
 Heller, Christine A., 83, 210
 Henderson, Alice Corbin, 70
 Henderson, Norma, 155
 Henríquez Unreña, Pedro, 208
 Henshaw, Richard C., 181
 Hernández, Felipe Delgado, 62
 Hernández, Fortunato, 221
 Hernández, Timoteo L., 51, 52, 195
 Hernández Guzmán, Ezequiel, 202
 Herr, Selma Ernestine, 150
 Herrera, Ignacio, 28, 36
 Herrera E., Celia, 129
 Hester, George, 216
 Heusinger, Edward Warner, 113
 Hewes, Leslie, 61, 175, 195
 Hewett, Edgar L., 6, 205, 220
 Higbee, Edward C., 175
 Hajar Haro, Luis, 165
 Hill, George W., 65
 Hill, James D., 217
 Hill, Laurence F., 119
 Hitt, Homer T., 79
 Hodge, Frederick Webb, 219
 Hodge, Hiram C., 43
 Hoffman, Fritz L., 211
 Hoffsommer, Harold J., 160
 Hogan, William Ransom, 110
 Holden, William Curry, 110, 111, 137, 138, 158, 221
 Hoehler, Fred K., 201
 Hollon, Gene, 207
 Hoover, G. E., 89
 Horgan, Paul, 34, 70, 105, 114
 Houghton, N. D., 217
 Hrdlička, Aleš, 222
 Huffman, Roy E., 157
 Hughes, John Taylor, 40
 Hughes, Marie Morrison, 147, 149, 151
 Humboldt, Baron Alexander von, 39

Humphrey, Norman Damon, 68, 69, 81,
82, 84, 87, 89, 101, 194, 207, 208
Hunt, Robert Lee, 106
Hunter, Byron, 159
Hunter, Marvin J., 113
Hurd, Edgar B., 159
Hurt, Wesley R., 209
Hutchins, Wells O., 131, 170
Hyde, Charles H., 35

I

Idar, Ed., 96
Iguiniz, Juan B., 7
Infield, Henrik F., 164
Inman, Henry, 47, 115
Inman, Samuel Guy, 22
Irigoyen, Ulises, 60, 153, 190, 217
Irrab, Noel, 141
Iturriaga, José de, 194
Ives, Ronald L., 141, 175, 190

J

Jackson, J. W., 217
Jaco, E. Hartley, 209
James, George Wharton, 44, 114
James, Roy, 87, 134
James, Thomas, 40
James, Vinton Lee, 47, 113
Jamieson, Stuart M., 172
Jellinek, Frank, 190
Jiménez Moreno, Wigberto, 7
Johansen, Sigurd, 69, 83, 207
Johnson, Elmer, 46
Johnson, H. D., 155
Johnson, Leighton A., 146
Johnston, William Drumm, 182
Jones, Howard Mumford, 84
Jones, Robert Cuba, 7, 63, 85, 87, 94
Julian, George W., 173
Junco, Alfonso, 12
Just, Evan, 190

K

Kahler, Hugh McNair, 187
Karns, Harry J., 54
Katscher, Leopold, 139
Keleher, Julia, 135
Keleher, William A., 115, 171
Kellum, Lewis B., 59, 190
Kelly, Arthur Randolph, 67

Kelly, Isabel, 167
Kelsey, Anna Marietta, 113
Kemmerer, Edwin Walter, 108, 185
Kendall, George Wilkins, 40
Ker, Anita, 5
Kibbe, Pauline R., 71
King, C. B., 149
Kingrea, Nellie Ward, 78
Kirk, William, 208
Kiser, Clyde V., 85
Klapp, Orrin E., 204
Kluckhohn, Clyde, 220
Kluckhohn, Florence, 76
Kneller, George F., 142
Kroeber, Alfred L., 220
Kubler, George, 44, 196
Kurrelmeyer, Louis Hayner, 182
Kupper, Winifred, 115

L

La Barre, Weston, 196
Lackey, B. Roberts, 112
Lake, Stuart, 116
Landgraf, John L., 160
Lang, Alden Socrates, 111, 188
Lang, J. W., 157
Langford, J. O., 42, 74, 158
Lara y Torres, Leopoldo, 196
Lardizábal Campero, Luis, 202
Larroyo, Francisco, 143, 145
Lasker, Bruno, 203
Lasker, Gabriel W., 99, 100
Lasky, Samuel G., 182
Lassépos, Ulises Urbano, 56
La Tourette, Genevieve, 48
Laumbach, Verna, 49
Lausen, Carl, 183
Lea, Tom, 111, 158
Leis, Ward W., 151
Lemert, Ben F., 174, 191
Lemert, Edwin M., 70
Lemert, Rose V., 174, 191
León, Nicolás, 7
Leonard, Olen, 67, 69, 96, 160, 161
Lesley, Lewis Brent, 41, 43
Lewis, Oscar, 195
Liebson, Art, 102
Liga de Agrónomos Socialistas, 53
Lindsay, Ben, 189
Little, Wilson, 70, 147

Lively, Charles Elson, 161
 Lofstedt, C., 80
 Long, Haniel, 46
 Longmore, Thomas Wilson, 79
 Loomis, Charles P., 67, 69, 84, 85, 86,
 154, 161, 204
 Loomis, Francis B., 31, 32
 Loomis, Nellie Holmes, 150
 López Malo, Ernesto, 102
 López Zamora, Emilio, 175
 Lerdo de Tejada, C. Trejo, 143
 Lott, Virgil N., 47
 Lowrie, Samuel Harman, 109
 Loyola, Sister Mary, 89, 133
 Lozano, Rubén Rendón, 109
 Lucero-White, Aurora, 198
 Lumholts, Karl, 55
 Lummis, Charles F., 45
 Lundberg, George A., 89

M

Mabee, Cora E., 189
 McAlister, Samuel B., 145, 216
 McAllister, Dan, 49
 McBride, George M., 164
 McCampbell, Coleman, 110, 181
 McClellon, Andrew C., 96
 McClintock, James H., 117
 MacCorkle, Stuart Alexander, 13, 28, 214
 McCormac, Eugene Irving, 15
 McCrary, Mallie Muncy, 78
 McDonagh, Edward C., 64, 87, 153
 MacDonald, Howard, 155
 McGorray, William E., 154
 McKay, Seth S., 110, 214, 217
 MacKenzie, H. B., 55
 McKibbin, Davidson B., 137
 McKinney, Lillie G., 138, 155
 McLean, Robert N., 66, 70, 196
 McMillan, Thomas E., 213, 214
 McMillan, W. G., 221
 McWilliams, Carey, 65, 72, 93, 94, 102,
 158
 Madison, Virginia, 34, 47
 Magoffin, Susan Shelby, 40
 Maitland, John, 191
 Major, Mabel, 7
 Mallery, F. D., 55, 167, 175
 Manning, Wentworth, 113
 Manuel, Herschel T., 81, 147, 154
 Marden, Charles F., 64
 Margáin Talavera, Luis, 59, 176
 Marmolejo R., Leandro, 202
 Márquez Montiel, Joaquín, 123
 Marshall, Thomas Maitland, 15
 Martin, Douglas D., 43
 Martin, Jack, 112
 Martin, Roscoe C., 110, 214, 217
 Martínez, Maximiano, 201
 Martínez, Mercurio, 47
 Martínez, Manuel, 221
 Marvaud, Angel, 32
 Massieu H., G., 210, 211
 Mateo Manje, Juan, 54
 Matthews, Harold J., 44, 146
 Matthews, M. Taylor, 210
 Mecham, J. Loyd, 217
 Meigs, Peveril III, 126, 196, 221
 Meldrum, George W., 77
 Mena Brito, Bernardino, 21
 Mendieta Cruz, Francisco, 202
 Mendieta y Núñez, Lucio, 164, 166
 Mendizábal, Miguel O., 56
 Menefee, Selden Cowles, 71, 72, 73, 88
 Mexico:
 Banco Nacional de Crédito Ejidal, 167,
 169
 Coahuila, 215
 Chihuahua, 52, 215
 Comisión Nacional de Irrigación, 166
 Departamento de la Estadística Na-
 cional, 53, 56
 Dirección General de Estadística, 169
 Dirección General de Estudios Eco-
 nómicos, 56
 Nacional Financiera, 186
 Nuevo León, 215
 Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería,
 169
 Secretaría de Bienes Nacionales é In-
 spección Administrativa, 215
 Secretaría de Educación Pública, 220
 Secretaría de Fomento, Colonización é
 Industria, 56, 165
 Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 15,
 21, 23, 26, 27, 98, 169
 Meyers, Frederic, 73, 81, 95, 162, 184,
 189
 Michelson, Truman, 222
 Middleton, Annie L., 28

Middleton, P. Harvey, 185
 Milam, Paul W., 188
 Miller, Herbert Adolphus, 101, 207
 Miller, Max, 56, 57
 Mills, Elizabeth H., 139
 Milor, John H., 153
 Miñano-García, Max, 144
 Minnesota: Governor's Interracial Commission, 75
 Mirkowich, Nicolas, 210
 Mitchell, H. L., 102
 Molina Enriquez, Andrés, 164
 Molyneaux, J. Lambert, 211
 Mondell, Frank W., 32
 Montes de Oca, Alfonso Fábila, 221, 222
 Moore, Wilbert E., 79, 101
 Mora Ortiz, Gonzalo, 31
 Morales Gómez, Antonio, 130
 Morán Sánchez, Norberto, 202
 Moreno, Pablo C., 122
 Morton, Ohland, 15, 28
 Mosk, Sanford H., 173, 185, 191
 Motheral, Joe R., 160, 171, 172
 Moulton, E. L., 183
 Mowry, Sylvester, 54, 55
 Müllerreid, Federico K. G., 60
 Murphy, Wallace C., 215
 Murray, Mary Katherine, 87
 Myres, S. D., Jr., 34, 215, 217

N

Nall, Frank, 203
 Nelson, Eastin, 73, 95, 162
 Nelson, Edward William, 56
 Nelson, Lowry, 160
 New Mexico: State Department of Public Welfare, 98
 New Mexico: Territory of, 47, 215
 Newton, Lewis W., 110
 Neylan, John Francis, 217
 Niggli, Josephina, 195
 Noggle, Burl, 4
 Noll, Bernard H., 36
 North, Arthur Walbridge, 57, 126
 Nye, William F., 54

O

Ober, Frederick Albion, 50
 Oberg, Kalervo, 162, 172
 Ocampo, Manuel, 222

Ochoa, Humberto Escoto, 19
 Ochoa Velázquez, Alfonso, 59, 176
 O'Dea, Thomas F., 203, 206
 Ogle, Ralph H., 133
 Oliván Palacio, F., 60, 191
 Onís, José de, 34
 Opler, Catherine M., 89, 134
 Opler, Morris Edward, 89, 134, 137, 220
 Orebaugh, David A., 92
 Oribe Alba, Adolfo, 59, 176
 Orozco, Wistano Luis, 164
 Osorio, B. F., 62, 176
 Otero, Miguel Antonio, 115, 116
 Otero, Nina, 43, 198
 Othón de Mendizábal, Miguel, 174
 Owen, Eugene D., 7
 Owens, Sister M. Lilliana, 112, 116
 Oxnam, G. Bromley, 89, 206

P

Padgett, L. Vincent, 204
 Padilla, Ezequiel, 118
 Paine, L. S., 188
 Palacín Iglesias, Gregorio B., 144
 Palomares, J. N., 21
 Pan American Union, Division of Labor and Social Information, 7
 Pani, Alberto J., 145
 Panunzio, Constantine María, 71
 Paredes, Américo, 197
 Parkes, Henry Bamford, 217
 Parodi, Enriqueta de, 124
 Parra, Manuel Germán, 7, 186
 Parsons, Elsie Clews, 49, 220
 Pasquel, Francisco I., 60, 176
 Pate, James E., 218
 Patterson, Caleb P., 216
 Pattie, James O., 58
 Payno, M., 62
 Paz, Frank X., 65
 Peabody, Charles, 48
 Pearce, Thomas Matthews, 7, 89, 209
 Peevey, Lucien E., 130
 Pellecer, Carlos Manuel, 126
 Peña, Moisés de la, 191, 222, 223
 Peña Villarreal, Hildegarde de la, 166
 Perales, Alonso S., 72
 Pérez-Maldonado, Carlos, 51, 120, 121, 195
 Pérez Hernández, José María, 56

Pérez Pliego, Carlos, 202
 Pérez y González Aragón, Angel A., 202
 Perrigo, Lynn I., 49
 Perrini, Fred S., 138
 Perry, Donald, 79
 Pesqueira, Fernando, 10
 Peters, Donald W., 29
 Pfefferkorn, Ignaz, 53
 Philips, Shine, 113
 Pierce, Frank C., 16, 109
 Pijoan, Michel, 200
 Pike, Zebulon, 39
 Pinard, Alphonse, 62
 Pinchon, Edgcomb, 129
 Pingrey, H. B., 159
 Pittman, Riley Herman, 206
 Pletcher, David M., 191
 Ponce de León, José María, 53, 61, 123
 Porterfield, Austin L., 200
 Portes Gil, Emilio, 34, 107, 119
 Portillo, Esteban L., 53, 122
 Potts, Juan, 61
 Powell, Fred Wilbur, 107, 108, 185
 Powell, John Wesley, 42, 157
 Prado, Amado, 122
 President's Commission on Migratory
 Labor, 75, 98
 Priest, Loring Benson, 106
 Prieto, Alejandro Salvador, 53
 Prieto Quimper, Salvador, 53, 198
 Prince, Le Baron Bradford, 114, 116, 133

Q

Quiroz Martínez, M., 144

R

Rader, Frank K., 187
 Rader, Jesse L., 8
 Rael, Juan B., 198, 209
 Raines, C. W., 6
 Rak, Mary Kidder, 38
 Ramírez Cabañas, Joaquín, 17, 126
 Ramos, Roberto, 8
 Ramos, Samuel, 194
 Ramos Arizpe, Miguel, 51
 Ramsdell, Charles W., Jr., 138
 Rasor, C. A., 183
 Raymond, Dora Niell, 112
 Read, Benjamin Maurice, 74, 89, 114,
 135

Redekop, Calvin, 203
 Redfield, Robert, 99, 208
 Redford, Emmette S., 211
 Reed, S. G., 111, 181
 Reeve, Frank D., 134, 138, 155, 218
 Reid, John C., 47, 58
 Relyea, Pauline, 13
 Rembao, Alberto, 123
 Reuss, Carl F., 189
 Reynolds, Annie, 147
 Richards, Eugene S., 64, 87, 153, 204
 Richardson, Rupert Norval, 46, 105, 109
 Rickard, John Allison, 171
 Ring, Welding, 187
 Ringgold, Jennie Parks, 42, 74
 Río Aguilera, Miguel, 166
 Rippey, J. Fred, 13, 29, 30, 135
 Rippey, Merrill, 26, 36, 174
 Riquelme, Eugenio, 176
 Riquelme Inda, Julio, 49, 176, 186
 Rister, Carl Coke, 43, 44, 46, 105, 128,
 132, 134
 Rivera, Julius, 99, 203, 204
 Rivera Marin, Guadalupe, 168, 186
 Rives, George Lockhart, 14
 Roas, L. de la, 101
 Roberts, Dan W., 112
 Roberts, Warren Aldrich, 216
 Robinson, Duncan, 111
 Robinson, Edgar E., 22
 Robinson, W. W., 117, 158, 160
 Rocha, José G., 10
 Rocha, Victor S., 51
 Rodríguez, Mauricio, 166
 Rodríguez L., Antonio, 50, 167, 176
 Roel, Santiago, 51, 119, 121
 Rolle, Andrew F., 35, 138
 Roller Issler, Anne, 87, 102
 Romanell, Patrick, 144
 Romero, Cecil B., 138
 Romero Flores, Jesús, 107, 198
 Romualdi, Serafino, 101, 191
 Rosburg, Judy, 70
 Rosenquist, Carl M., 83, 207
 Ross, W. D., 188
 Rossiter, William M., 28
 Rowe, Leo, 32
 Ruch, Giles M., 152
 Ruge, R., 61, 176
 Ruiz, Ramón E., 35, 80

Ruiz Carvalho, Enrique, 202
 Ruiz Meza, Victor, 194
 Ruiz Fabón, Rafael, 202
 Rulfo, Juan M., 177
 Russell, John Clifford, 80, 130
 Ruxton, George F. A., 41, 47, 58
 Ryce, Edward, 152
 Ryan, William Redmond, 57

S

Saavedra, Mario M., 191
 Saldaña, José P., 53, 120
 Saldivar, Gabriel, 118
 Salinas, José Lázaro, 94, 95, 168
 Salinas Carranza, Alberto, 21, 130
 Samora, Julian, 76, 89, 206
 Sánchez, Alberto, 53
 Sanchez, George I., 70, 72, 73, 88, 96,
 143, 147, 148, 149
 Sanchez, Mrs. Luisa G. G., 150
 Sanger, D. B., 128
 Santiago, Hazel D., 80, 205
 Santibáñez, Enrique, 93
 Sauer, Carl O., 59, 220
 Saulsbury, Willard, 32
 Saunders, E. M., 59
 Saunders, Lyle, 6, 8, 66, 68, 72, 73, 96,
 138, 148, 199
 Schafft, Alvin H., 207
 Schmieder, Oscar, 62
 Schmitter, Eduardo, 57
 Scholes, France V., 9, 133
 Schreiner, Charles III, 171
 Schuler, Edgar A., 85
 Scott, Elmer, 154
 Scott, Florence Johnson, 109, 119
 Scott, Stanley, 214
 Sears, Alfred B., 170
 Segale, Sister Blandina, 41
 Segura, David, 8
 Seltzer, C. C., 221
 Senior, Clarence, 79, 165, 167
 Senter, Donovan, 85, 154, 205, 207
 Sepúlveda, César, 22
 Shaftel, George, 86
 Shapiro, Harold A., 88, 189, 211
 Shaughnessy, Gerald, 92
 Shearer, Ernest Charles, 28, 30, 36, 135
 Shelton, Wilma Loy, 9
 Shevsky, Eshrev, 67, 82
 Shonk, Ruth, 134
 Shreve, Forest, 61
 Silva Herzog, Jesús, 22, 166, 185
 Simmons, Leo W., 219
 Simmons, Ozzie G., 76, 212
 Simms, D. Harper, 173
 Simpich, Frederick, 49, 191
 Slayden, James L., 101
 Slocum, George Mertz, 46, 58
 Smith, Dick, 214
 Smith, H. V., 157
 Smith, Henry Nash, 104
 Smith, Justin H., 14
 Smith, Laura M., 13
 Smith, Mapheus, 204
 Smith, Marion B., 152
 Smith, Mervin, 177
 Smith, Rebecca, 7
 Smith, William H., 160
 Sobarzo, Horacio, 17, 126
 Sonnichsen, C. L., 43, 44, 106, 111
 Sorrell, Vernon G., 187
 Soulié, Maurice, 17, 126
 Southern, John H., 172
 Southworth, John, 55, 57
 Spaulding, Charles B., 189
 Spell, Lota M., 6
 Spicer, Edward H., 69, 205
 Spiro, Melford E., 207
 Stacy, May Humphreys, 41
 Stambaugh, J. Lee, 47
 Stambaugh, Lillian J., 47
 Standing, T. B., 172
 Steen, Ralph W., 110, 131
 Steiner, Jesse Frederick, 89, 207
 Stenborg, Richard R., 29, 36, 138
 Stephens, W. P., 163
 Stephenson, W. A., 170
 Sterling, Henry S., 59, 208
 Stevens, Guy, 13, 32
 Stevens, Louis, 129
 Stewart, M. S., 191
 Stillwell, Hart, 45, 74, 102
 Stockton, John R., 45, 157, 181
 Stowell, Jay S., 22, 34, 197
 Stratton, David H., 116
 Strickland, V. E., 88
 Stubbs, Stanley A., 46
 Studhalter, R. A., 221
 Suárez Bacallao, Raymundo, 202

Sullenberger, T. Earl, 78
 Summerhayes, Martha, 42, 117
 Sykes, Godfrey G., 55

T

Taeuber, Conrad, 161
 Talbert, Robert H., 66, 72, 200
 Talmadge, Sterling B., 182
 Tamayo, Jorge L., 30, 50, 58, 176
 Tannehill, Ivan Roy, 45, 157
 Tannenbaum, Frank, 32, 177
 Taylor, Florence, 149, 161
 Taylor, M. C., 151
 Taylor, Paul Schuster, 45, 64, 66, 68, 71,
 73, 77, 78, 80, 93, 100, 101, 138, 172
 Taylor, Rosemary, 47
 Taylor, Thomas R., 36
 Telling, Irving, 78, 131, 135
 Tenny, James Brand, 183
 Terrazas, Silvestre, 141
 Tetreau, E. D., 87, 152, 162, 171, 172,
 173
 Texas Agricultural Experiment Station,
 160
 Texas A. and M. College, 182
 Texas Geological Survey, 181
 Texas: State Department of Education,
 149
 Texas: State Employment Service, 98
 Texas: State Legislature, 216
 Texas: University of, 46, 179, 181, 201,
 216
 Thibert, Marguerite, 191
 Thibodeaux, B. H., 159
 Thomas, Alfred B., 115, 138
 Thomas, Dorothy Swain, 82, 207
 Thomas, Francisco de, 114
 Thomas, Howard E., 149, 161
 Thomas, Robert Horatio, 43, 58
 Thomlinson, W. H., 128
 Thompson, Albert W., 42, 116
 Thwaites, Ruben Gold, 39
 Timm, Charles A., 19, 28, 31, 157, 177
 Tiscareño Silva, Rafael, 216
 Titleman, Edward D., 131, 171
 Tireman, Lloyd S., 147, 148
 Titus, Charles H., 218
 Tompkins, Frank, 21, 34, 58, 129
 Torres Gaytán, Ricardo, 31

Torres Iglesias, Manuel, 127
 Toulmin, H. A., Jr., 21, 34, 58, 130
 Touton, Frank C., 152, 155
 Tressman, Ruth, 49
 Treutlein, Theodore E., 53
 Trowbridge, Edward D., 31, 36
 True, C. Allen, 171
 Tuck, Ruth, 65, 72
 Tucker, Mary, 8
 Turlington, Edgar, 13, 34, 185
 Turnage, W. V., 55, 167
 Turner, Timothy G., 130
 Tuttle, Charles Richard, 128
 Twitchell, Ralph E., 44, 113, 116

U

United States:
 Bureau of the Census, 75
 Department of Agriculture, 75
 Department of Interior, 42
 Department of Labor, 81
 Department of State, 19, 23, 24, 25,
 27, 97, 98
 Senate, 16, 21, 22
 Special Mexican Claims Commission,
 24
 Tariff Commission, 26

V

Valdez Terrazas, Alberto, 141
 Valentine, Wilbur G., 62, 192
 Valenzuela, Clodoveo, 125
 Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, 10
 Van der Eerden, Sister M. Lucia, 78
 Vargas, J. Octavio, 177
 Vasconcelos, José, 13
 Vasey, Tom, 80, 138, 172
 Vaughan, John Henry, 74, 113
 Vázquez Santa Ana, Higinio, 199
 Vega, J., 61
 Velasco, José Francisco, 54, 62
 Velasco Ceballos, R., 23
 Vickery, William E., 149
 Vigness, David Martell, 68, 131
 Villa, Eduardo, 10, 124
 Villarreal L., Ricardo, 50, 168, 186
 Villaseñor, Eduardo, 31, 36
 Villegas, Oscar Edgar, 202
 Vincent, Melvin, J., 192

Vivanco, Aurelio de, 57
 Vivó, Jorge, 50, 220
 Vogt, Evon Zartman, 86, 205, 206, 219

W

Waggoner, J. J., 49, 171
 Wagner, C. J., 221
 Wagner, Henry R., 6, 10
 Walker, Helen W., 81, 101
 Walker, William, 135
 Wallace, William Swilling, 9, 10
 Walling, William English, 23, 34
 Walter, Paul A. F., Jr., 64, 66, 76, 86, 133, 139, 218
 Wann, J. L., 163
 Warburton, Amber A., 67
 Warner, Louis H., 89, 206
 Warner, Ruth, 223
 Wasson, Joseph, 48
 Waters, Lawrence Leslie, 79, 172
 Watson, James B., 89, 206
 Watson, Mary, 148, 206
 Watt, R. R. G., 152
 Weaver, Findlay, 188
 Webb, John N., 161
 Webb, Walter Prescott, 3, 74, 104, 108, 156
 Weeks, Oliver Douglas, 87, 88, 216, 218
 Wellman, Paul I., 106
 Werlin, Joseph Sidney, 36
 Wertenbaker, Green Peyton, 45
 West, Robert C., 131
 West, Victor J., 22
 Wheat, Marvin, 34
 Whetten, Nathan C., 3, 164, 194
 Whitaker, Arthur P., 108
 White, Leslie, 220
 White, Walter Noy, 157
 Wickson, E. G., 45, 158
 Wilcox, S. S., 134
 Williams, Albert N., 106, 157
 Williams, Juanita H., 70, 197
 Williams, Marilyn, 67
 Wilson, Eldred Dewey, 183
 Wilson, Irma, 143
 Wilson, Ivan F., 51
 Wilson, Louis R., 65
 Wilson, President Woodrow, 21
 Winchester, Ean Eddy, 183
 Winkler, Max, 185
 Winslow, David C., 173
 Winters, Jet C., 67, 201
 Wise, Henry Augustus, 47, 58
 Witacre, Jessie, 67
 Wittke, Carl, 92
 Wood, Helen, 67
 Wood, Samuel, 79, 101
 Woodman, Lyman L., 16, 34
 Woods, Sister Frances Jerome, 69, 76
 Woolsey, L. H., 31
 Wooten, Mattie L., 139, 207
 Wootton, Thomas P., 182
 Wortham, Louis J., 109
 Wylie, Kathryn H., 31, 36, 59, 177
 Wyllys, Rufus K., 17, 116, 125

Y

Yarbrough, C. L., 154
 Yocupicio, Ramón, 125
 Young, Sarah L., 71, 149

Z

Zea, Leopoldo, 143
 Zeleny, Carolyn, 76
 Zing, Robert, 221
 Zuloaga, Pedro, 140, 174

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